THE LAUSANNE TREATY
TURKEY AND ARMENIA

The American Committee

OPPOSED TO THE

Lausanne Treaty

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* * *

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THE LAUSANNE TREATY
TURKEY AND ARMENIA

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Two Letters from Mr. Wilson on the Lausanne Treaty

Woodrow Wilson:

". . . . I appreciate the efforts that you are assisting in making in behalf of Armenia whose cause is very dear to me. I do not think that an opinion from me would have the least influence with the present Senate of the United States. I must reserve my comment until I believe it will be efficacious."

—From a letter to Mr. Gerard, dated, October 2, 1923.

* * * *

". . . . I had already seen the paper (collective Memorandum against the Treaty, signed by 100 citizens) about the Lausanne Treaty which you were so kind as to send me in your letter of December eleventh, and was very glad indeed that you and those associated with you had undertaken to show the Senate the iniquity of that treaty. It is indeed **iniquitous,** and I sincerely hope that your protest will be effectual."

Dated, December 13, 1923.

Senator Lodge:

" * * The feeling of the Administration, I think, and of the State Department is that, although the treaties (the Lausanne Treaties of Amity and of Extradition) are not wholly satisfactory, they are the best that could be done. I do not know at all what the vote of the Senate will be on the treaties or what action the Committee will take. I assure you I shall not forget the interests of Armenia."*

From a letter to Mr. Cardashian.

Senator Ralston:

"In common with the vast majority of Americans, I have been shocked beyond expression by the atrocities committed on the Armenians, as well as by the wrongs done to our Missions, Schools and Hospitals in Turkey, in flagrant violation of the treaty obligations.
"I agree with President Wilson and President Harding, that the Armenians are entitled to independence, and I certainly cannot regard the oil concessions received by American interests as any compensation for the principles and rights sacrificed by our diplomacy in this proposed (Lausanne) treaty."

From a letter to Mr. Gerard.

Senator Ralston:

"I have received your very vigorous and well expressed telegram in opposition to the Lausanne Treaty.
"I was glad to have your views and to know that in my opposition, expressed more than once in public addresses, I have the support of a man of such ability and familiarity with world affairs."

From a letter to Mr. Morgenthau.

A New Treaty or Reservations

An American Policy

By David Hunter Miller

Chairman, The American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty [1-2]

Whether we regard the Treaty of Lausanne from the point of view of American policy or from the point of view of American honor, that Treaty is in both respects equally indefensible.

One matter that is in question is "impartial justice." This was secured to citizens of the United States under the system of the Capitulations; these have a very long history and a very ancient background; and doubtless in their details and in their administration they went farther than was either necessary or proper.

I. American Policy on Juridical Rights.

But so far as the system of Capitulations related to judical rights the United States has a clear, well-stated and fair policy, expressed in an Act of Congress of 1874, signed by President Grant, a declaration of policy regarding "impartial justice" which is still unrepealed and valid. It reads as follows:

> "Whenever the President of the United States shall receive satisfactory information that the Ottoman Government . . . . has organized other tribunals on a basis likely to secure to citizens of the United States . . . . the same impartial justice which they now enjoy there under the judicial functions exer-

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[1] David Hunter Miller was Legal Advisor to The American Commission to Negotiate Peace; is co-author of the Covenant of the League of Nations; author: Secret Treaties of the United States; Reservations to Treaties; Geneva Protocol, and other books and monographs on international and legal topics.—Ed.

[2] The Lausanne Treaty was negotiated on August 6, 1923. The President transmitted it to the Senate in May, 1924. It was reported favorably by the Foreign Relations Committee on Feb. 21, 1925; but, on March 13, in Executive Session, a poll revealed that it could not be ratified and, in consequence, it was recommitted.—Ed.

cised by the Ministers, Consuls and other functionaries of the United States . . . . he (the President) is hereby authorized . . . . to notify the Government of the Sublime Porte that the United States . . . . will . . . . accept for their citizens the jurisdiction of the tribunals aforesaid"

We do not know of any contention that Turkish tribunals now secure "impartial justice" to anyone.

What the Treaty of Lausanne proposes in this regard is not any modification of the Capitulations but their abolition. Article II of the Treaty reads as follows:

> The High Contracting Parties declare the Capitulations concerning the regime of foreigners in Turkey, completely abrogated, both as regards conditions of entry and residence and as regards fiscal and judicial questions, together with the economic and financial system resulting from the Capitulations. [1]

With this is an illusory Declaration by the Turkish Government regarding "legal Counsellors" who are to "observe without interfering in the performance by the magistrates of their duties, the working of the Turkish Courts" and so on; but even this Declaration is to expire on July 24th, 1928. [2]

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[1] Our Treaty with Turkey of 1830 is still in force and is the legal basis of our policy. That Treaty cannot be annulled without our consent.

At the Conference of London, January 7, 1871, the Representatives of the assembled Powers signed a Protocol, dated January 17, 1871, which reads, in part, as follows:

> "The Plenipotentiaries of North Germany, Austria-Hungary, Great Britain, Italy, Russia and Turkey, to-day assembled in conference, recognize that it is an essential principle of international law that no Power can absolve itself from the obligations of a Treaty, nor modify its stipulations, except in pursuance of the assent of the Contracting Parties in virtue of an amicable agreement . .".—Ed.

[2] This *voluntary* declaration further provides that the "legal counsellors", . . . "who will be engaged as Turkish officials, will serve under the Turkish Minister of Justice; some will be posted in Constantinople, others in Smyrna; it will be their duty to observe . . . the working of Turkish Courts, to forward to the minister of Justice such reports as they consider necessary . . ." These "Counsellors" shall be chosen from countries which were neutral during the War. In other words, these advisors shall enjoy the privilege to offer advice—if and when His Excellency, the Turkish Commissar of Justice, should so desire.—Ed.

Of course it is said that we are compelled to abandon our previous policy toward Turkey although it is precisely the policy that we are pursuing in China; there also we are perfectly willing to give up our extra-territorial rights when "impartial justice" is otherwise secured. It is precisely the policy which was pursued in Japan, as Ambassador Straus observes, a generation ago. It is said that because other countries have abandoned Capitulations in Turkey we must do so. That is a very strange sounding argument.

No treaty which abandons the rights of American citizens to "impartial justice" should be entered into by the United States.

II. American Naturalization Laws and the Lausanne Treaty.

There is another matter of American policy which has an historic background.

An Act of Congress of July 27th, 1868, declared that

> . . . "the right of expatriation is a natural and inherent right of all people, indispensable to the enjoyment of the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,"

and it went on in these words:

> . . . "any declaration, instruction, opinion, order, or decision of any officer of the United States which denies, restricts, impairs, or questions the right of expatriation, is declared inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the republic."

This is pretty emphatic language as a statement of American policy; it could hardly be more sweeping. There is one further extract from that Statute which shows that Congress was thinking of affairs abroad:

> "All naturalized citizens of the United States, while in foreign countries, are entitled to and shall receive from this government the same protection of persons and property which is accorded to native-born citizens."

The Department of State has generally, and very properly, carried out this policy in our Treaties with foreign countries. One of the latest of these is the Treaty with Bul-

garia, a neighbor of Turkey. This Treaty, which was negotiated in 1923, declares:

> . . . "nationals of Bulgaria who have been or shall be naturalized in territory of the United States shall be held by Bulgaria to have lost their original nationality and to be nationals of the United States."

Also, we insisted that Germany, by the Treaty of Versailles (Article 278), adopted by the Treaty of Berlin, should recognize the naturalization laws of the United States.

Let us see how this matter stands in the Treaty of Lausanne. We find according to the record that the United States consented "to omit an article which appeared in the initial American draft relative to nationalization" and Ismet Pasha stated

> "that the Turkish Government had not changed its point of view with reference to regulations in force in Turkey relative to the conditions and consequences of the naturalization of Turkish nationals."

In other words, in making the Treaty with Turkey the United States proposed that our laws regarding naturalization should be accepted as valid by Turkey just as they are accepted as valid by civilized countries. Turkey rejected this proposal and the Treaty of Lausanne acquiesced in the rejection.

It would be interesting to know what possible defense there is for this abandonment of the American position.

III. American Philanthropic Enterprises in Turkey.

One of our chief interests, perhaps our chief interest, in Turkey grows out of those charitable and philanthropic institutions which have been established and maintained in that country by the generosity of American citizens. We need not go into any detail regarding these institutions and their present situation; those features are discussed elsewhere by others who are directly familiar with them. We will discuss here only as to what the American policy should be.

That the academic and religious freedom of these institutions is substantially at an end under the Treaty of Laus-

anne will be apparent to anyone who reads the documents. There is a so-called "establishment" Convention between Turkey and some other Powers (which Turkey has the right to terminate at any time on one year's notice) and there is a letter from Ismet Pasha saying that while this Convention remains in force (we are not a Party to it) the religious and charitable institutions of American foundation will receive the same treatment as that accorded to British or French or Italian institutions. But what all this jumble of legal documents means is simply that these institutions may be treated (and are being treated) as Turkish institutions; they are put under the control of ideas which are well illustrated by the fact that not the slightest criticism of the Angora Government is permitted to be printed today in any newspaper in Constantinople.[1]

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[1] A Report, made in 1923, by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, disclosed the facts that the missionary churches in Turkey had been reduced by 90 per cent; that six out of nine colleges and forty out of forty-three high schools had been closed; that one thousand native schools, affiliated with the missionaries, had been abandoned; that 95 per cent. of the constituencies of the missionaries had been murdered or deported or enslaved, and that the American missionaries had but ten stations remaining.

The Lausanne Treaty makes no mention of, and no provision for, the missionaries. Ismet Pasha, the Chief Turkish Delegate to the Conference, by a letter to our Observer, at Lausanne, said:

> ". . . Turkey will recognize the existence of American religious, scholastic and medical establishments, as well as of charitable institutions recognized as existing in Turkey before the 30th October, 1914 . . . The establishments and institutions mentioned above will, as regards fiscal charges of every kind, be treated on a footing of equality with similar Turkish establishments and institutions, and will be subject to the administrative arrangements of a public character, as well as the laws and regulations, governing the latter . . ."

Since the writing of that letter, and as a result of the putting into execution of Turkish laws and regulations, The Near East Relief has been forced to withdraw from Turkey, and a Constantinople dispatch to *The New York Times,* dated March 21, 1924, announced the closing by the Turks of the American station at Mersina and of the Y. M. C. A. at Stamboul.

On March 24, 1924, Secretary Hughes made representations to the Angora Government against the flagrant violation of its pledges and threatened to stop the sending of the Lausanne Treaty to the Senate; demanding fresh assurances that the Turks would not interfere with American missionary activities.

But, a Constantinople dispatch to *The Times,* dated April 1, 1924, informs us that the American Orphanage at Cesarea and the Hospital at Konieh, have been closed; that the Turks were levying exorbitant taxes upon American educational buildings, and were demanding that the Amer-

So far as American religious, medical and charitable institutions are concerned, it is very little to suggest that they should be accorded freedom in intellectual matters and in matters of religion.

* * *

So far as trade and business interests are concerned, the question of this Treaty or of any other treaty with Turkey is of comparatively insignificant consequence to the United States. We buy a few millions worth of fruits and nuts and tobacco from what is now Turkey; and that poor and backward country is compelled to buy a few necessities from us. What we buy from Turkey is of real benefit to her; any possible volume of export of trade to Turkey means very little to us.

It is not specially in regard to commerce with Turkey that questions of American policy arise in connection with the proposed Treaty of Lausanne. All that American policy asks in regard to commercial affairs is equality of treatment and that is not here in question.

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ican missionaries teach Mohammedanism in the Smyrna College. Also, an Associated Press dispatch from Constantinople, dated April 12, 1924, states that ". . The American High Commissioner was informed by Vassif Bey, Minister of Public Instruction, that the Government had definitely decided to close all foreign schools where religious education (except Mohammedanism) was given"; and, another Constantinople dispatch, dated April 17, 1924, announces that "The Turkish Government has closed the Medical branch of the American Girl's College here, on the ground that the Government alone can conduct institutions of higher learning." Also, an Associated Press dispatch, dated Constantinople, April 24, 1924, says that "The American missionary schools in Turkey have agreed to remove from their classrooms all Scriptural pictures, Bibles, crosses, and other religious symbols . . ."

The few remaining American institutions in Turkey are thus made subject to the supervision and direction of the Turkish Government, and are allowed to teach only such subjects as Turkish inspectors may prescribe. In other words, they are no longer, in any sense, missionary institutions; they can no longer promote the purpose for which they were established. The Turks will allow Americans to furnish the funds for the maintenance of "American schools," but the Turks themselves, will direct and operate them. Furthermore, if they should find it profitable to "nationalize" their own schools, they will have the right under the provisions of Ismet's letter, to nationalize also the American schools.—Ed.

IV. The Question of Armenia.

There is one other question which is not only one of policy but one of honor. It is a question upon which Americans of as different ideals and as varied political faiths as Woodrow Wilson, Warren G. Harding, Henry Cabot Lodge and Samuel Gompers were substantially in accord. We refer to the question of Armenia.

The documents and the history of the Armenian question have been so often quoted and so fully stated elsewhere in this book that it is unnecessary to repeat them.

The moral commitment of America to the Armenian people is unquestionable; that commitment the Treaty of Lausanne would abandon and tear up.

If the Treaty of Lausanne expressed in words what it expresses by silence, it would have had some such article as this:

> "The United States of America forever abandons the Armenian people and renounces all interest in their welfare."

If that is to be our policy, let us so state it in some such words.

In the Treaty of Versailles there is an article which relates to the so-called mandated areas, portions of Turkey and the former German Colonies. While this country did not ratify the Treaty of Versailles, we have always insisted that we are entitled to the same rights in respect of these mandated areas as countries which did ratify that Treaty; and we have carried our point; for agreements have been made with other countries which give us the same rights as any other Power. Our contention that American rights accrued "as a direct result of the War" has been admitted, even as to former territories within Turkey, with which country we were not at war.

Now the Article of the Treaty, that is to say of the Covenant, which relates to the manadated areas was taken in principle, and very largely in language, from a Resolution of the Five Powers (adopted in January, 1919), of whom the United States was one; and there is one clause of that reso-

lution which, so far as I know, has never been quoted in this connection:

> **"because of the historic misgovernment of the Turks of subject peoples and the terrible massacres of Armenians and others in recent years, the Allied and Associated Powers are agreed that Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Arabia must be completely severed from the Turkish Empire."**

There is not the slightest doubt that this portion of that Resolution expressed the policy of the United States and of our people without regard to party. It was followed by various forms of action and inaction, which make this policy a matter of honor as well.

Of course, our responsibility to Armenia, as well as that of the Allies, has other foundations than the ground stated in the Resolution just quoted. Numerous declarations have been made, in favor of the independence of Armenia, by spokesmen for the Allied and Associated Nations. These declarations had as their bases as much the sufferings of the Armenians as the military services which they rendered the Allied arms. The action of the Allied Supreme Council, in April, 1920, in inviting the President of the United States to define the Armenian boundaries was a recognition of the commitments made to Armenia during and after the War; and the subsequent failure of the Sevres Treaty does not absolve either the Allies or the United States of the moral responsibility which the arbitral award of the President imposes upon them. [1]

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[1] On April 25, 1920, the Allied Supreme Council in session at San Remo, extended an invitation to the President of the United States to define the boundary between Turkey and Armenia, in the Provinces of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis. The President accepted the Allied invitation and acted upon it. The invitation of the Allied Supreme Council to the President was an independent act, and was not dependent for its validity upon any future contingency, and had no reference to the Sevres Treaty, which was signed on August 10, 1920. Therefore, the subsequent revision by the Allies of the Sevres Treaty cannot affect the Wilson award to Armenia, insofar as the Allies and the United States are concerned. Furthermore, Armenia has no responsibility whatever for the revision of the Sevres Treaty; did not acquiesce in its revision, and is not a party to the Lausanne Treaty, against which she filed a formal protest. In the Allied-Turkish Lausanne Treaty, the boundary between Turkey and Armenia has been left undefined.—Ed.

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We have justly contended that our rights, even when comparatively insignificant in some cases, such as in Syria, did not fall because of our failure or refusal to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, but rather remain because they depend upon the inherent nature and justice of the situation; why should we admit, as the proponents of the Treaty of Lausanne would have us do, that our policy should be changed and that this commitment of honor should be abandoned because of what other Powers have done or failed to do in respect of *their* treaties?

The essential basis of justice remains in the position that we took; let us there stand.

To suggest, as some do, that the failure to ratify the Treaty of Lausanne implies or conceivably can imply any question of the use of force by the United States in Turkey, is to make an impossible suggestion with the hope of bolstering up an impossible case. No such proposal is contemplated by anyone. The suggestion is merely the old and familiar "red herring."

What the opponents of the Treaty of Lausanne do say, however, is that when our country is asked to take a backward step and ratify a Treaty contrary to our foreign policy, which in this regard is one of fairness and of justice and nothing more, and contrary to the honor of our country which is more than any question of policy or self interest, what we then say is NO, NO, NEVER.

* * *

We condemn the Lausanne Treaty as a humiliating and indefensible abandonment and surrender of American policy and American honor, and advocate and urge its rejection.

But, if it should be stated that that is a policy of negation, that we have no constructive plan to suggest, and that it is necessary for some reason to ratify the Treaty, we answer that, while we feel that rejection is the better course, we are prepared, nevertheless, to meet the views of others half way.

FOUR RESERVATIONS PROPOSED

So we propose, that if the Lausanne Treaty is to be ratified, the following reservations be inserted by the Senate of the United States:

1. The abrogation of the Capitulations pursuant to Article II of the Treaty shall not limit or qualify the juridical rights of American citizens in Turkey, as the same existed under the Treaty of 1830 between the United States and Turkey, but that whenever the President of the United States shall receive satisfactory information that the Government of Turkey has organized other tribunals on a basis likely to secure to citizens of the United States the same impartial justice which they now enjoy under the judicial functions exercised by the Ministers, Consuls and other functionaries of the United States, then the President of the United States is hereby authorized to notify the Government of Turkey that the United States will accept for their citizens the jurisdiction of the tribunals aforesaid.

2. The abrogation of the Capitulations pursuant to Article II of the Treaty shall not limit or qualify the academic and religious freedom of American religious, scholastic and medical establishments and charitable institutions in Turkey as the said academic and religious freedom of said institutions existed under the Treaty of 1830 between the United States of America and Turkey.

3. The United States of America and Turkey declare that nationals of Turkey who have been or shall be naturalized in territory of the United States shall be held by Turkey to have lost their original nationality and to be nationals of the United States.

4. The United States and Turkey hereby recognize Armenia as a free and independent State. The frontiers of Armenia, as heretofore determined by the arbitration of the President of the United States, are accepted and agreed to by Turkey.

A Few Authoritative Opinions on the Lausanne Treaty and the Turks

* * *

Chauncey M. Depew:

"I hope for your effort (against the Treaty) every success."[1]

Charles W. Eliot:

". . . . How strange it is that nobody gives the real reason why we should have nothing to do with the Turks! The present Turks are the descendants and heirs of those Turks who for centuries have harassed and butchered the Christian population within their borders, and are themselves continuing the same practices to an even more revolting degree.

"Why does not somebody speak out clearly and strongly upon these facts?"

Oscar S. Straus:

Ex-Ambassador to Turkey

". . . . The main point is, as we did not declare war against Turkey, our treaties, unlike those of the Allies nations, with Turkey, were not abrogated and, therefore, we are in a different position in regard to extra-territorial rights than those nations. We should not give up those rights until the new Turkey establishes a judicial system upon which our nationals can rely. This we did with Japan a generation ago. . . . ."

Henry J. Allen:

Ex-Governor of Kansas

". . . . I heartily join in the protest against the Turkish Treaty. . . ."[2]

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[1] In the course of a brilliant speech, at the Pilgrim's Dinner, in October, 1925, Senator Depew—the venerable Nestor of American politics—stigmatized the Lausanne Conference as "a failure."—Ed.

[2] Governor Allen recently visited the Near East.

Henry Morgenthau:

Ex-Ambassador to Turkey

"I can only say that it is an utterly unnecessary, purposeless and humiliating Treaty and that the Democratic Platform, by repudiating it, advocated a sound policy. In view of the prevailing state of hopeless economic, political and social chaos in Turkey, it is inconceivable that this nation should surrender its essential and time-honored rights to a temporary and weak despotism, relying merely upon its notoriously worthless promises, and ignore its solemn pledges to Armenia in the matter of the Wilson award. I cannot comprehend why we should hasten to enter into a formal treaty to surrender existing rights without securing anything in return. I am unalterably opposed to the Treaty."

Rev. Dr. F. G. Smith:

President, Missionary Board of the Church of God

"My own personal experiences in Turkey impel me, in the name of justice and American honor, to protest against ratification by the Senate of the Lausanne Treaty.

"Unless the rights of the Armenians outlined in the Sevres Treaty are recognized, the protection and full civil and religious liberties of the other Christian minorities definitely assured, and the unrestricted freedom of American missionary institutions in Turkey (as well as the rights of other American nationals) guaranteed by consular jurisdiction as in the past, the Government of the United States should absolutely refuse to conclude any treaty with the assassins of the Near East now designated by the misnomer "Turkish Republic."

Josiah H. Penniman:

Provost, University of Pennsylvania

"The United States should make no treaty with a nation that has violated existing treaties, unless reparation is made for violations and assurances that can be enforced given for future good faith and honorable observance of treaty rights."

Josephus C. Daniels:

Ex-Secretary of the Navy

". . . . The worst debacle in the post-war slump, if in a whole cataclysm of debacles one may be singled out, was the attitude of the Powers toward Turkey. For a century that 'sick man of Europe' has been kept alive by British because of its fear of the Russian bear. It was always an anachronism and a menace. When the testing time came, Turkey found its true place. Though it owed everything to British diplomacy, which had from time to time injected oxygen to keep it alive, it aided in the Gallipoli butchery.

"When the war ended, all the world thought Turkey in Europe, at least, awaited to be mandated and governed for the good of mankind. But greed for oil and jealousy among the Powers, plus America's avid eye for a share in oil concessions, contributed to set up Turkey again.

"And now the United States is asked to ratify a treaty that denies the immemorial right to have its nationals tried in its own courts, and is asked to accede to strong Turkey, which, upon the occasion of another war, would furnish strength to imperialism revived. The Senate ought to refuse to be a party to such a treaty. The Turk is not suited to sit in the council of civilized nations, much less to be accorded the superior rights contained in the Lausanne Treaty, "done in oil."

"The Senate should reject it."

Bishop James Cannon:

Methodist Episcopal Church [1]

". . . . Will not our Government realize its opportunity and responsibility as a great Christian nation, politically disinterested, to demand that burnings, outrages and massacres cease?

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[1] Bishop Cannon was in Turkey during the burning of Smyrna by the Kemalists. The above statement is reprinted from the N. Y. Times.

During the Democratic Convention in 1924, New York, Bishop Cannon appeared before the General Platform Committee and argued for the adoption of a plank, denouncing the Lausanne Treaty and advocating the fulfillment of Wilson award to Armenia.—Ed.

"Shall America have the condemnation of Meroz?"

[The twenty-third verse of the fifth chapter of Judges reads: "Curse ye the land of Meroz," said the angel of the Lord; "curse ye the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of the Lord, to help his most valiant men."]

Robert Underwood Johnson:

Ex-Ambassador to Italy

"Ratification of the Lausanne Treaty would reflect eternal disgrace upon America."

Albert Bushnell Hart:

Professor of Government, Harvard University

". . . . The Treaty is practically a recognition of a partly civilized people, wholesale murderers of their own fellow citizens. The Treaty would give no advantage which we are not securing now without the proposed Treaty. The probability is that Turkey will explode or become a dependency of Russia within a few years. What is the use of a treaty with a temporary and despotic Government."

A. D. F. Hamlin:

Dean, School of Architecture, Columbia University

". . . . The Treaty must be rejected because it is an infamy, a piece of national cowardice, and a symptom of moral bankruptcy. . . . ." [1]

Herbert Adams Gibbons:

Author, The Foundation of The Ottoman Empire, etc.

"On the eve of the Lausanne Conference, the De-

[1] Prof. Hamlin was born in Turkey in 1855. He is the son of the revered Cyrus Hamlin who, in 1863, founded Robert College and became its first president.—Ed.

partment of State laid down seven definite conditions for the acceptance by the United States of a new treaty with Turkey. The Treaty, signed at Lausanne on August 6, 1923, fulfills none of these conditions. . . . .

"The American Government," the President said in his message to Congress, "is not proposing to barter away its principles."

Republicans and Democrats alike are opposed to expediency as the guiding principle in the foreign policy of this nation. Therefore, if they admit the justice of the plea that we should not renew relations with Russia for expediency's sake, how can they be asked to approve the Treaty of Lausanne on the single and *sole* ground of expediency?

"If we have more reason to bank on the stability of the Kemalist Government and the good faith of the Angora junta than we have to bank upon the stability of the Russian Government and the good faith of the Soviets, the Department of State ought to show us such a reason before we recognize the new status quo in the Near East and before we enter into normal diplomatic relations with the dictatorship of Mustapha Kemal and his military clique." [1]

William Stearns Davis:

Professor of History, Univ. of Minnesota

". . . . Any favorable opinion, concerning either the Angora Government or the Lausanne Treaty, which may be expressed by certain good Americans, who have relations with Turkey, must be interpreted as reflecting the absence of any freedom of speech in Turkey, and as a necessary and studied act to escape the wrath of the Turks. Foreigners, as the few remaining native Christians, are hostages. . . . ."

Fred. Perry Powers:

". . . . The Secretary of State urges that by ratifying this Treaty we shall secure the good will of the Turks. We shall do nothing of the sort. We shall only earn their contempt for our weakness. . . . . The Turks respect only those whom they fear, or from whom they

expect something. . . . . We cannot afford to tie up ourselves with Kemal in his present precarious position, for whatever concessions we make to him will be claimed by any Turkish authority that succeeds him. Our oil companies existed and apparently did business in Mexico while we refused to recognize the Mexican Government. We did not recognize it until the Department of State got its terms. The Department announces that it will not recognize the Soviets until it gets its terms. Why should we make haste to recognize the usurper in Angora on his own terms?

"We are going to rely upon a mere piece of paper. We had better withdraw Americans from Turkey than to leave them at the mercy of Turkish courts. Our religious, educational and commercial interests would be as safe with no treaty as they would under the Treaty of Lausanne with no military and naval forces behind it."

Wilfred M. Post:

Many of our public men freely admit the grievous wrongs which Turkey has inflicted upon Christians, but a few plead for the new republic in the belief that when Turkey destroyed her minority populations or thrust them out of her borders she was acting only in self-defense, that she is now a homogeneous nation with face steadfastly set away from the past and with a resolute desire to make herself over into an enlightened, progressive, modern republic.

1. The statement is made that Turkey is now a homogeneous nation. This is true only so far as religion is concerned, as the inhabitants of Turkey are now chiefly Moslem, though sharply divided into orthodox Mohammedans on the one hand and secularists of atheistic tendency on the other. Of other nationalities besides the Turks there are Kurds, Circassians, Lazes and Avshars—all Moslems —and still some hundreds of thousands of Christians and Jews. At least 15 per cent. of the population of Turkey today is not Turkish; and only this year Angora had to declare martial law in 12 provinces and undertake a bloody war of repression in order to stamp out the rebellion of her Moslem Kurdish subjects. In fact, one reason for her intransigeance in the matter of Mosul is the fear that her Kurdish population may some day achieve autonomy.

2. It is claimed that the expulsion of the Christians involved financial sacrifice to Turkey. This is true as regards the ultimate economic effects upon the country, but the officials, soldiers and populace who carried out the deportations certainly endured no sacrifice. They confiscated the real estate and bank accounts of the Christians, robbed and looted on every hand, and fattened off the misery of their fellow-countrymen.

3. The separation of Church and State in Turkey has not been effected according to the usual understanding of the word. Rather the Government has usurped the authority of Islam and muzzled free speech by the Moslem clergy, among whom are to be found Angora's bitterest opponents. As yet freedom of conscience in the Western sense has not been achieved.

4. A plea is made of "Turkey for the Turks," and the Armenians and Greeks are described as aliens. But it must not be forgotten that Greeks and Armenians dwelt in Asia Minor for many centuries before the Turks migrated from Central Asia and conquered the land. For the past six centuries they have been subject peoples, oppressed, massacred and finally thrust out of the country, but in no sense can they be considered as aliens. If Great Britain should decide to thrust out her Irish and Scottish subjects from the United Kingdom on the ground that they were aliens and not English, it would be no more illogical than for the Turks to thrust out the Greeks and Armenians whom they subjugated centuries ago. Great Britain in order to settle the Irish question has granted the people a large measure of autonomy. Had Kemal pursued a similar policy toward the Armenians, a happy solution of the Armenian question might have followed, but in this respect he differs not one whit from the bloodiest of the Sultans whose line he boasts of having displaced forever. Kemal's Government is directly responsible for the massacre of thousands of Armenians at Alexandropol and in Cilicia, for the looting and destruction of Smyrna and for the atrocities in Mosul just now published to the world in the report of the League of Nations.

If there was ever a psychological moment not to ratify a treaty of amity and commerce with Turkey, it is now. The nations which did ratify the Treaty of Lausanne will probably revise their views, and nothing could be more desirable than that all Europe should unite in settling the status of the Near East once for all, insisting upon a large and autonomous Armenia, where her hundreds of thousands of scattered orphans and refugees might have an opportunity for establishing their national life once more.

Amity and Commerce

From an Editorial in the New York Times (1923).

" . . . . According to the dispatches from Lausanne, the Treaty clarifies the hitherto equivocal position created by Turkey's abolition of the capitulations. So it does. The equivocal position consisted in the fact that Turkey had abolished the capitulations, although Mr. Hughes declared that Turkey could do no such thing without our consent. We have now given our consent, so the situation is clarified.

". . . . Under the capitulations Americans who were accused of crimes in Turkey were tried by American Consular courts. Now the jurisdiction of Consular courts is ended. Americans may be arrested by Turkish police and tried by Turkish courts; but the Turkish government voluntarily promises out of the goodness of its heart to appoint a few foreign legal advisors, from nations neutral in the late war, who will be informed of such arrests after the victims are in jail. . . . . In one point only are Americans in Turkey subject to American courts—"personal status and family law." That is to say, no American in Turkey can take four wives.

". . . . Another occasion for congratulations to the State Department, according to the dispatch, is the arrangement of the taxation question. Hitherto Americans in Turkey had been exempt from many taxes, and we are assured that this used to worry them. They besieged the American Embassy, begging to be put on the tax lists. They have that privilege now. . . . Christian Americans in Turkey 'shall enjoy liberty of conscience and worship' just as it is as present enjoyed by the Armenians . . . ."

Homer S. Cummings:

Ex-Chairman, Democratic National Committee

I have delayed answering your letter until the present time because it is with extreme reluctance that I place myself in opposition to a treaty negotiated in due course by our State Department. Generally speaking, the opposition to most treaties has been, in large part, political and the success of these attacks has done much to impair the prestige of our country in its foreign relations. Indeed, it seems almost to have brought about a state of paralysis. I had no doubt whatever that the Lausanne Treaty was a very undesirable and indeed, almost indefensible document. I wanted therefore more time in which to reflect upon the subject before answering your letter.

I have given the subject such study as I could and I am forced to the conclusion that you and your associates are following the correct course.

Henry W. Jessup:

I was born in the Turkish Empire. I grew up for fourteen years in Turkey, and I have been in touch week by week ever since, during a life of sixty years, with affairs in the Turkish Empire.[1]

I want to start with a couple of facts: The ass in the lion's skin is still an ass. The wolf in sheep's clothing is a wolf still. I would like to paraphrase that old saying —*timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*—to read—*timeo Turkos et sheep-skin ferentes.* What is the use of denying the facts?

We are asked to strike hands with these murderers. That is the situation. We are asked to enter into a treaty of amity and peace with men who have demonstrated, through the ages, their incapacity to keep an international contract, to observe the sanctities of civilized society.

Here is a letter from the State Department:

> The broader tendencies developing in the Near East and the moral suasion of the Christian treaty powers must be trusted finally to prevail to reconcile the opposing factions.—[This was after an Armenian massacre.]—This is no longer a question, however, of dealing with a Government implicated in these massacres. It is earnestly believed that the best course now for the betterment of the unfortunate people concerned is to exhibit a degree of confidence in the newly-established constitutional Government whose sultan has solemnly proclaimed to Parliament his horror over the awful slaughter among his subjects, his firm intention to punish the guilty and his purpose to use his fullest powers to maintain peace, justice and tranquility throughout his dominions. This hopeful promise of reform seems to be confirmed by the recent official reports from Turkey that the constitutional Government is taking vigorous measures, etc.

This was not written yesterday. It was written in 1909 when the American government was asked to protest against the recent Armenian massacres, and the State Department still has the same fundamental lack of knowledge of the Turkish and Oriental mind. They

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[1] Henry Wyans Jessup is the son of Henry Harris Jessup—the great pioneer missionary educator—who conceived the idea of the Syrian Protestant College—now The American University at Beyrut. Mr. Jessup is author of numerous legal, ethical and other works, was Professor of Law at New York University. He is a distinguished member of the American bar. The above statement is part of a speech before the Foreign Policy Association.—Ed.

don't know it, they don't appreciate it. They are treating with them as if they were a civilized European Government. They are according them faith and credit as if they believed that the Turks were willing and anxious and ready to perform what they on paper will always promise to perform.

If this is a temporary treaty, as some say, why be in such a hurry about it? The Americans are there now under Turkish law and you propose to agree that they shall remain under Turkish law. What is the advantage of cementing and crystallizing that situation? That is where they are now.

My point is this, that there is the Turk character, unchanged, unchangeable through the ages. So far as the Turk is still thoroughbred, he is to be found only among the peasantry of Turkey. There you find the simple, stolid disposition of the thoroughbred descendant of the original Turk. But the official and governmental Turk is a hybrid. He is a mule among nations. You can't deal with this man who has this sheep-skin, or shall I say the veneer of suavity and almost gentleness that would deceive the very elect. I say St. Paul had him sized up when he said, "Though I speak with the tongue of men and of angels and have not charity, I am as a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal." Don't you believe them. Don't you trust them.

Now, it is with those men that we are proposing to make this temporary treaty. I object!

Everett P. Wheeler:

I am clear that we are much better off under the old Treaty, and I am equally clear that it is still in force. There was no declaration of war between America and Turkey and the revocation of the old Treaty cannot be claimed on that ground. The general principle of international law is clear that a new Government even though it be revoluntionary is bound by the treaties of its predecessor. In 1914, when the Turks abrogated the capitulations, our Government protested against that arbitrary act. I think that we should stand on that protest and await developments.

Dr. Frederick Cook Morehouse:

Editor, The Living Church (Episcopal).

I appreciate one difficulty that must somehow be overcome. Those of us who earnestly supported the League of Nations lay ourselves open, undoubtedly, in protesting against the Lausanne Treaty, to the imputation of intending simply to slap back at those who embarrassed President Wilson and defeated the Treaty of Versailles. We must somehow make it clear that we recognize that it is at all times a grave evil for the executive and the senate to differ in regard to a proposed treaty and that the benefit of the doubt ought always to be given to the executive. It is even though we recognize this patent fact that we still maintain that the Lausanne Treaty is so bad that it ought not to be ratified, and particularly since there is no obligation to effect any new treaty with Turkey at all. We are not in the condition that we were with Germany after the war, where it became necessary for some treaty to be established. We can lay stress upon the fact that we do not need any new agreement with Turkey.

Samuel Russell:

". . . . The real objection is to the Turks and not to the Treaty. The question for us is as to the advantages, if any, which our Government and the country would acquire by the maintenance of diplomatic relations with the Kemalist Government. There is little or no advantage to the United States in ratifying the Treaty. The advantage will be all with the Turks, who desire the ratification of the Treaty and the establishment of diplomatic relations to give them standing and prestige in international affairs, and to exploit their recognition by our Government for the floating of a loan in the United States. We have a right to consider the question entirely from the standpoint and the promotion of American interests as well as the preservation of the dignity and principles of our own country.

"There is a material ground of objection to the ratification of the Treaty which appeals to the American people and which might well be entertained by the Sen-

ate as controlling its action on the question of ratification. It is this: The President of the United States at the invitation of the European Powers, including the governments of Turkey and Armenia, determined the land boundary between the territories of Turkey and Armenia. . . . . The American people are certainly sufficiently interested in this question to expect that the Government of the United States shall insist upon the acceptance and recognition of the President's decision upon this boundary question, not only for the vindication of the dignity and prestige of our Government, but because of the inherent justice and moderation of the decision itself, and because our people are in favor of a proper accommodation of this age-long controversy in these regions upon some other basis than the recurring slaughter of the inhabitants by the Turks. For these reasons and, particularly, in view of the vital military services rendered by the Armenians to the Allied armies and of our solemn commitments to Armenia, the Senate of the United States, we may well believe, will so amend this Treaty as to bring it into harmony with the dictates of reason and of common justice."

Senator Lodge:

". . . . The feeling of the Administration, I think, and of the State Department is that, although the treaties are not wholly satisfactory, they are the best that could be done. . . . ." [1]

Senator Ralston:

". . . . I agree with President Wilson and President Harding that the Armenians are entitled to independence, and I certainly cannot regard the oil concessions received by American interests as any compensation for the principles and rights sacrificed by our diplomacy in this proposed treaty. . . . ."

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[1] In September, 1923, Senator Borah, by letter, said that his "disposition to the Treaty is not favorable."—Ed.

Senator Ladd:

". . . . I have received numerous communications from the Churches. I will vote against it. . . . ."

Senator Robinson:

". . . . I am satisfied that the Treaty cannot be ratified. . . . ."

Senator Owen:

". . . . I will oppose the Lausanne Treaty."

Other Senators:

". . . . I am strongly opposed to the ratification of the Lausanne Treaty."

". . . . It has been put over until next year and by that time all the world may be unwilling to have any dealings with the Turks."

". . . . I am against the Treaty."

". . . . I do not make a positive promise as to how I shall vote, but unless something unexpected develops I shall vote against the Treaty."

". . . . A humiliating and perfidious Treaty."

". . . . As a matter of fact, the Treaty would now be defeated. . . . ."

". . . . I share your views upon this matter, and will cast my vote against the ratification of the Treaty."

". . . . I believe the Lausanne Treaty would have been defeated had it come to a vote. At any rate, there does not seem to be any prospect favorable to it. . . . ."

". . . . I agree with you thoroughly relative to the Lausanne Treaty."

". . . . Permit me to thank you upon your opposition to the Lausanne Treaty. I shall with pleasure vote against this Treaty. It seems to me that the negotiators of this Treaty were unwilling to protect the Christians but were quite willing to protect oil, and I am additionally pleased to tell you that this Treaty has no chance whatever of ratification by the Senate of the United States. . . . ."

". . . . I am in full accord with the views as expressed by you with regard to the atrocious Turk and when the matter is taken up by the Senate shall be pleased to lend my efforts to defeat the ratification of a treaty which is so at variance with my ideas of human decency and against which my party has in convention assembled so vigorously protested. . . . ."

". . . . There ought to be honor between nations as between individuals. America made certain commitments to Armenia. The proposed Treaty ignores and repudiates them. Furthermore, the Armenians fought on the side of the Allied and Associated Nations. This Treaty overlooks that very important fact. . . . ."

Editor's Note—Fourteen other Senators have expressed themselves, in writing, against the Treaty. Unfortunately, however, their letters are not at present available for publication because their recipient—an eminent friend of the Committee—is now abroad. Also, Senator Swanson and Senator King have not been quoted because their position is so well known.

An Indefensible and Humiliating Treaty

By Wilfred M. Post

Medical Missionary and Relief Worker in Turkey for 21 years[1]

The practical question soon to come before the United States Senate is whether to ratify or reject the Treaty, which the delegates of our Government negotiated with Turkey at Lausanne, on August 6, 1923.

On the eve of the Lausanne Conference, the Department of State, by an identic note addressed to our Ambassadors accredited to the principal Allied Powers, laid down seven conditions, which were to form the basis of a new Treaty with Turkey. Retention of the capitulations, assured academic and religious freedom for American missionary activities in Turkey, and a suitable arrangement for the protection of the surviving Christians were the chief subjects of American interest. Also, by a letter, dated November 8, 1922, President Harding gave assurances that the rights of Armenia under the Sevres Treaty would be preserved. These conditions were fair and reasonable and America's position was similar to that taken by the Allies. The fact that the Allies, for special reasons which concerned them only and for substantial territorial and other advantages which they secured under their new treaty, yielded some of their claims, made it, perhaps, difficult for America to

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[1]Wilfred M. Post was born in 1876 at Beyrout, Syria, then a part of Turkey, where his illustrious father was Professor of Surgery in the American University. He received his A.B. at Princeton, 1897; M.D. at Columbia, 1901; was intern at Randall's Island and in Presbyterian Hospital, New York City; returned to Turkey, under the auspices of the Congregational Board of Foreign Missions, in 1904; worked in Mission hospitals at Cesarea and Konieh; Director, American Red Cross Hospital, Constantinople, 1914-1915; Exec. Secretary, American-Persian Relief, 1919; Medical Director, Near East Relief, 1922-23; Medical Director, American Hosiptal, Constantinople, 1923-25. A fellow of American College of Surgeons; decorated by Greece, in 1923, in recognition of his services to refugees; awarded Near East Relief Medal for D. S., 1925. A witness of Armenian deportations in 1915-17, and of Smyrna fire in 1922.

maintain her stand, but did not alter the reasonableness and justice of that stand.

The Treaty which America negotiated at Lausanne, fulfills none of the conditions laid down by the United States Government. It abandons the capitulations and puts American citizens and American missionary enterprises in Turkey under the "protection" of Turkish Laws. It accepts, without guarantees or reservations, the word of Turkey as equal in value to that of Britain or France. It gives up practically all we had under the old Treaty, and gets nothing in return. It does not even mention Armenia or the minorities. It leaves the surviving Christians to the tender mercies of the Angora Government—the same Government which massacred thousands of Armenians at Alexandropol and in Cilicia and looted and destroyed Smyrna. I, myself, was a witness of the burning of Smyrna and nothing can eradicate from my memory that horrible night of September 13, 1922 —a quarter of a million helpless Greeks and Armenians gathered on the long quay, the burning city behind them a roaring furnace of flame, the sea before them, Turkish soldiers on either end of the quay with fixed bayonets to bar the way of escape, cries for help and shrieks of despair sounding across the harbor to the ships of the Allies.

America has shown her sympathy and interest in the victims of Turkish cruelty by contributing $70,000,000 for their relief, and our generous hearted public would never permit the Treaty to be ratified if they were thoroughly awake to the facts. It is difficult, therefore, to comprehend why our delegates yielded practically everything to Turkey at Lausanne, and the most reasonable explanation is that they believed some form of treaty was better than none at all, and that they should unite with Europe in giving Turkey one more chance to retrieve her reputation. There is also reason to believe that important commercial concessions were lurking in the background, which Turkey was ready to grant in return for entering into relations with the United States.[1]

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[1]The Lausanne Conference met on November 22, 1922; was suspended on Feb. 4, 1923, and resumed on April 22.

During the first session of the Conference, the American Observers insisted upon the American conditions. But, during the interregnum, that is, on April 9, Angora formally granted the Chester Concession. There-

I was in Turkey at the time the Lausanne Treaty was negotiated. My observations and judgment were naturally limited and influenced by the environment. I supposed that our Government had good reasons for its participation in the Lausanne Conference and for its adherence to the Lausanne Treaty, and hoping and trusting that a real political change might be realized in Turkey, I then felt, like many others, that it was perhaps the wise policy to ratify the Treaty.

But, after watching for two years at close range the activities of Kemalist leaders and the character and operation of the Kemalist regime, I came home with the honest and firm conviction that the hopes which induced our Government to negotiate that Treaty already had proved to be unfounded; that there are no longer any real or tenable arguments in favor of its ratification, and that to ratify it, at this late hour, and with full knowledge of its demonstrated futility, would constitute a purposeless surrender, as it would reflect lasting discredit upon American diplomacy.

Turkish Empire and Kemalist Turkey

What is Kemalist Turkey? In many respects it is a miniature of the defunct Turkish Empire, but reduced in area and population and much worse off economically than during the régime of the Sultans. Under the name of a Republic it continues to be a military despotism; the women have laid aside their veils, the men have donned hats, the schools have been secularized and many efforts made to modernize the State, *but the spirit of the rulers is much the same.* When Mustafa Kemal wishes to get rid of his wife, he merely issues the decree and she is divorced. The opposition press is muzzled at will. Objectionable persons sud-

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after, the American Observers supported, in the main, the Turkish position.

Eliot Grinnell Mears, formerly of the staff of Admiral Bristol, American High Commissioner in Constantinople and one of the Observers at the Lausanne Conference, in his recent book, entitled, Modern Turkey, says:

> ". . . The Turkish Delegation in the resumed Conference (April 22, 1923) endeavored to secure American support through the granting of the Chester Concession (April 9), and at the same time drive a wedge between France and Great Britain . . . To quote the Tevhidi Efkiar, a Turkish journal of Constantinople:
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> ". . . We accepted the Chester Concession very hastily and we hoped by this concession to gain America on our side. . . ."—Ed.

denly disappear. One of the Constantinople Dailies, summing up the situation at election time, remarked: "The same old people, with new titles, will govern in the same old way."

The Turkish Empire before the War had an area of 694,960 square miles and an estimated population of 18,000,000 to 21,000,00. Kemalist Turkey has an area of 320,000 square miles and an estimated population of 5,000,000. There exists a conflict of estimates as to this population, but, if we accept the highest estimate as to the pre-war population, we must deduct therefrom about 7,000,000 for Syria, Mesopotamia and Arabia, 5,000,000 Greeks and Armenians, 2,000,000 in Turkish losses (the Turks themselves estimate their own losses as high as 3,000,000), and 1,000,000 Kurds. One-half of the Kurds have perished, and about 487,000 (British census) remain in the disputed region of Mosul. That would leave for Turkey a population of about 6,000,000. It may be observed in this connection that on September 15, 1923, Mehmet, the deposed Sultan of Turkey, in a statement made at San Remo, said that the 6,000,000 Moslems of Turkey were not competent to resolve the question of the Caliphate—a question which concerned the whole of Islam. There are, perhaps, three-quarters of a million non-Turk Moslems in Turkey, namely, Circassians, Lazes and Kurds. On the basis of the above, Turkey now has a population of about 6,500,000.

In 1913, the revenue of the Turkish Empire was $125,000,000, and its expenditures, $150,000,000. In 1923, the revenue of Kemalist Turkey was $50,000,000, and its expenditures, $85,000,000. In October, 1924, Hassan Bey, Kemal's Commissar of Finance, estimated the revenue of Turkey at $65,000,000, including that belonging to the Administration of Public Debt, amounting to over $25,000,000, which Kemal seized, and its expenditures at $150,000,000.

In 1913, the exports of Turkey amounted to $81,000,000, and imports, to $112,000,000. In 1923, the exports of Kemalist Turkey amounted to $12,000,000, and imports to $40,000,000.

American Interests in Turkey

What interests has America in Turkey?

Commerce:—In 1913, when Turkey had an estimated population of about 20,000,000, American exports to Turkey

amounted to $3,313,821, and, in 1924, Turkish exports to America amounted to a little over $10,000,000. In considering probabilities of future developments of Turkish commerce, we must keep in mind the fundamental fact that the Greeks and Armenians who were the economic mainstay of Turkey have been eliminated, and that we are to deal now with a population of about 5,000,000, of which the great majority is steeped in ignorance and sunk in abject poverty. Vast stretches of territory are uncultivated. Some reconstruction has been carried out in Angora and strong efforts are being made by the Government to establish industries and build up the prosperity of the country, but most of the interior towns and villages are in a state of delapidation, and there is no capital to develop the resources of the country. A large army has to be maintained at great expense, which, however, is essential for the maintenance of Mustafa Kemal and his clientele in power.[1]

Missionary:—In 1913, American Missionary and educational organizations maintained in the Turkish Empire one University, six colleges, many high schools and assisted or supervised about a thousand primary schools with an aggregate attendance of 50,000 or more, a great majority of which was Christian. Also, thirteen American hospitals were maintained in various cities and the medical missionaries did extensive touring to the outlying districts. In Kemalist Turkey today, the colleges number but three, hospitals four, high schools some eight or ten, with few if any primary schools, and the total attendance is *scarcely a tenth of what it was before the War.* In the City of Constantinople, the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. maintain their work, despite official opposition, and an entirely secular branch is being established in Angora. The tremendous shrinkage in the educational program is due partly to the loss of Syria from Turkey, but chiefly to the disappearance of the Christian population of Asia Minor due to massacre and deportation. Also the government has closed some of the colleges and high schools and the majority of the hospitals are unable to continue as the government is not permitting new medical missionaries to obtain licenses to practice.

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[1] During the period of 1919-22, American exports to Turkey increased considerably, due to shipments for relief, presence in Turkey of an allied army of occupation and goods in transit.—Ed.

Turkey Under Kemal

For the past three years the Kemalists have had their own way in Turkey. This is a long enough period to judge fairly well of their character and ability. As a group they have not lost the proverbial political astuteness, which at Lausanne cleverly played on the avarice and mutual jealousies of the European Powers, and dictated a Treaty that in coming ages will testify to their own shrewdness and remain a monstrous blot upon the record of Christendom.

In military matters also the Kemalists have shown courage and energy. Mustafa Kemal, despite many adverse criticisms, is a great leader and General, for no ordinary man could have plucked victory out of defeat, as he did in 1922, and the stern repression of the Kurdish rebellion this year shows that the Turk is still a first-class fighting man. But militarism is not a constructive force and no nation can depend long upon it for solid and lasting success. So after giving the Kemalists full credit for courage and fighting stamina, we must examine their record in the arts of peace and here we find their greatest weakness. The Turks have always been a nation of fighters and conquerors and have lived largely upon the industry of conquered nations. Now, however, the situation has changed and except for the mixed population of Constantinople and some thousands of Christians scattered through the interior, the Kemalists have an entirely Moslem population to deal with and this is by no means an easy problem for Angora. The more intelligent and progressive Turks in Constantinople, seeing their city declining and their prosperity destroyed, are bitterly hostile to Angora and only the most tyrannical muzzling of the Constantinople press and imprisonment of opposition leaders have sufficed to repress a growing discontent in the former capital. Under the Exchange of Populations Act, the European and Island Turks who have been dragged over into Asia Minor find that promises of government help in settling and starting anew are not materializing. Starvation and disease have already carried away many of these unfortunate people. Some with whom I conversed in Constantinople told me that they were far happier in Europe under Greek control than they were in their own Fatherland, for they had left behind them their little farms and tobacco fields, their shops and their industries and there was nothing for them to look forward to in Turkey. Similar influxes of

Moslems from the European provinces or islands have taken place in the past and the immigrants have been much worse off for the exchange. In many places in the interior may still be seen, outside of towns and cities, rows upon rows of small mud huts inhabited by refugees from Bosnia, from Macedonia, or from Crete, and their condition, as a general thing, is very poor and forlorn. Among the few Moslem colonists in Turkey who succeeded and prospered were the Circassians who came over from Russia many years ago; these owed their prosperity to the fact that they were special protegés of the Sultans, had splendid fields and villages given to them and were allowed to do about as they wished, for the government was glad to have an organization of robber barons, as many of the Circassians were, to overawe the Christian population.

It should not be supposed that the Turkish Government has been harsh only to subject Christian races, for in past times Kurds and Arabs professing the Moslem faith have been oppressed and maltreated and many wars of repression have been undertaken against them.

Mustafa Kemal had a wonderful opportunity to really make himself the father of his country, as many of his admirers still claim him to be. The desire to secure for Turkey an independent existence had in it elements of true patriotism and had he used moderation towards the Ottoman Greeks and Armenians, treated them with fairness, made restitution to them for their terrible losses during the Great War and given them security for life and property, he would have won their respect and confidence and instead of Asia Minor being a ruined and depopulated country, it might have been filled with loyal and satisfied Christian subjects. But that is just where he failed. Instead of using moderation, he allowed the most cruel massacres and deportations to take place and not only drove out the non-Moslem population, but banished commerce and prosperity with them. The Greek refugees carried into Greece their arts and industries and the result is a great commercial boom for that recently defeated country. The Turks as a nation are capable of chivalry and hospitality and have manifested both to prisoners and strangers, as, for instance, in their treatment of British officers taken prisoner during the great war and their protection of Russian refugees in Constantinople. Unfortunately they have never thought it worth while to treat their non-Moslem subjects with justice and fairness.

Angora Turkifies Missionary Institutions

The Nationalists have adopted a most drastic anti-Clerical policy. In this they are no doubt imitating Russia and many predict that the anti-religious phase will pass in time. But certainly it is at its height at present. They have abolished all religious schools, banished the teaching of Islam from their own primary and high schools and put a strict censorship upon the preaching in mosques. The clerical party and the rank and file of the population who are still devout resent this policy bitterly, but Angora has all power to enforce its will and is taking advantage of the opportunity. A natural corollary to this is the attitude toward all American schools and colleges. Missionary institutions during the Hamidian régime had to encounter considerable opposition and obstruction, but, within their own walls they nevertheless enjoyed considerable freedom, both in the pulpit and behind the professor's desk. Biblical instruction used to be given to all alike, Moslems, Jews and Christians. Little effort was made to proselytize, but in giving the Bible to the educated young people of the land, the missionaries felt that they were giving the best that America had to offer. It was George Washington who said: "It is impossible rightly to govern the world without God and the Bible." At various times the non-Christian students endeavored to be excused from religious instruction, but the schools and colleges felt that this was a necessary part of their curriculum and never encountered more than passing objections on this score.

The Angora government, however, has applied its drastic program of secularization to all foreign schools, an action which is decidedly discourteous and which even the most rabid secularists in America or Europe would not think of applying to institutions not depending on the state, but receiving their support from private sources. The Angora government not only has required the non-Moslem students to be excused from religious instruction, but has even tried to force the American authorities to keep away from their services such Moslem pupils as would voluntarily attend. The Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. are no longer allowed to have branches in the colleges. Not only religion, but history as well, must go under very rigid censorship. Textbooks on history must first be submitted to the censor and pages and pages are cut out from them if the facts which they recount do not agree with Nationalist ideas. More recently the effort has been made to eliminate Greek and Armenian teachers from the foreign schools, the idea being

to Turkify all influences emanating from the colleges. Now that the capitulations have been abolished, teachers and professors cannot be sure at night whether the next morning will find them in their professorial chairs. During the last year two well-known American teachers have been dismissed on trivial charges under threat by the government to close the institution if its orders were not complied with. An American school in the interior was closed because it happened to be painted blue and white, the government officials claiming that these colors were a disagreeable suggestion of the Greek national flag. The Greek and Armenian language departments have been abolished as the government does not wish its Christian subjects to obtain instruction in their own languages from foreign institutions. This, of course, means a gradual elimination of non-Moslem native teachers and professors from foreign institutions. A Constantinople Daily made this declaration recently:

> "We shall gradually turkify the foreign colleges, first by eliminating the Armenian element, then the Greek, then the Jewish, and last the Bulgarian."

Also, the Angora government wishes neither the sympathy nor the assistance of medical missionary work and refuses to license American doctors to practice in missionary hospitals, so that several have been compelled to close for lack of personnel.[1]

Constantinople always has been, and will probably continue to be cosmopolitan in character and one might suppose that the Angora government would be proud to have

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[1]The pretended opportunity for American capital in Turkey can be readily dismissed as being wholly illusory, but the interest of the American missionary must engage our serious attention in considering the Lausanne Treaty. The important question in this connection is: Are the missionaries allowed by this Treaty and under the Kemalist regime, as formerly, to hold true to the purpose of their mission? Dr. Post testifies that not only are the missionaries compelled to submit to the dictation of an irresponsible Asian-Moslem despotism, but that Turkish laws forbid any religious instruction in schools, which is an essential and fundamental purpose of the American missionary. The effect of secular education upon Turkish character is written in the records of the Young Turks and of the Kemalists, over 80 per cent. of whom were formerly members of the Young Turkey Party. It should be here observed that under the reciprocity clause of the Lausanne Treaty, Angora does not possess the right to direct and control, as it is now doing, the Mission schools in Turkey, as if they were supported or subsidized by the Turkish Government.—Ed.

its greatest city an international centre of education and would confer upon the American colleges the largest opportunity possible in order to attract students from all surrounding countries. Not at all! The whole cry now is "Turkey for the Turks," in utter disregard of the high claim of education to be independent of politics.

Lausanne Treaty a Weak Makeshift

It is an easy matter to narrate the misdeeds of Angora and to fulminate against the present government, but the European powers and to a certain extent, the United States Government, are also to blame for permitting the present situation to arise. Lloyd George stigmatized the Lausanne Treaty as being the most humiliating treaty that Great Britain had ever signed, and really, as one recalls the circumstances under which it is drafted, one cannot blame the clever and unscrupulous Turkish representatives at Lausanne for taking advantage of the absurd jealousies and moral cowardice of the assembled Powers. After the armistice, Turkey was absolutely prostrate and willing to accept peace at any terms. The Powers threw away the greatest opportunity of history for settling the Near East question once for all on a sound and equitable basis and our government did little to encourage them to a higher stand.

It is unfortunate for the peace of the world that the Sevres Treaty was replaced by that of Lausanne.[1] Had our attitude at the conference been more unselfish, such a mistake might not have occurred. If America instead of dodging her responsibility had pointed Europe to a just settlement of the Armenian question, Europe would doubtless have responded and Angora would long ago have bowed to the united demands of the Western World. *The Lausanne Treaty does not and cannot settle the Near Eastern question, nor will any other arrangement that fails to insure the establishment of an Armenian State.* The whole Smyrna tragedy could have been averted by the allied fleet assembled in the Bay, probably without firing a shot, yet we were compelled to see thousands of innocent men, women and children burned to death or deported into the interior where starvation and

[1]The Sevres Treaty, concluded on August 10, 1920, allotted to the Turks (about 4,000,000) 232,000 square miles; to the Armenians (on behalf of 3,000,000 surviving Armenians of Turkey and Russia) about 40,000 square miles; to the Greeks, 9,000 square miles, and freed Mesopotamia, Syria and Arabia.—Ed.

disease and outrage awaited them, while the allied ships rode idly at anchor and their officers exchanged polite afternoon visits between the ships. The United States, after once having raised the hope of the minorities in Turkey, is now leaving them completely in the lurch and we, in imbecile fashion, with nothing to gain and much to lose, are preparing to follow in the wake of a colossal European blunder.

Kemal Violates Lausanne Treaty Oppresses Christians and Missionaries

It is more than two years since the Allied treaty of Lausanne was negotiated and ratified, and during this time Angora has failed to live up to its promises. The minorities have been shorn, in violation of that Treaty, of many religious and secular privileges which they were guaranteed, and more and more are being forced out of the country by calculated political and economic pressure. Although the Lausanne Treaty permitted the minorities to remain in Constantinople, they do not enjoy full rights of citizenship by any means. They are not allowed freedom of travel in the country, are kept practically prisoners in Constantinople and the vicinity, and the Greeks are not allowed outside the city limits. A Christian physician of Constantinople in good standing whom I knew well and who had loyally served as a medical officer in the Turkish Army, was not allowed to take calls outside the city, and his case is only one of many. Christians have been debarred from service in public utilities such as railroads, street car lines and telegraph. Practically all the teachers and professors in the Turkish University are now Turks. Greeks, Armenians and more recently Jewish incumbents have been forced out.

In international affairs, Angora shows the old spirit of suspicion, lack of judicial sense and of fidelity to promise, as exemplified by the recent dealings in Geneva in the matter of Mosul. *In regard to American colleges and schools, the promised benevolence has been replaced by a series of annoying and repressive measures, unparalled in the past, and if persisted in, the colleges would be robbed of all independence or closed altogether.*

Treaty Would Make America a Tool in Hands of a Moslem-Asian Despotism

If the United States ratified the Treaty, Kemal's prestige

would be greatly enhanced. In the flush of a new diplomatic victory, he might, perhaps, relax the present policy of nagging interference and assume a more tolerant attitude. It is doubtful, however, if any such attitude would be more than temporary, for Angora has its own fixed program, just as its virtual ally, Soviet Russia, has its program. Its purpose is to strengthen its military structure and to secularize the social and educational life of the people, and *yet to maintain Islam as a political rather than a religious asset.* The minorities which remain are to be eventually thoroughly Turkified, or else thrown out of the country altogether. Last, but not least, there lurks in the background the purpose to strengthen the position of Islam, assume its leadership and use it as a weapon of coercion and conquest. The policy of lending any moral or material help to Kemal holds far-reaching consequences,—consequences which would inevitably affect and embroil America. Angora cannot be trusted. Kemal professes admiration for the United States, and, at the same time, steadfastly ignores the principles of justice and equality upon which our great democracy is founded. His eyes are turned towards Soviet Russia and Moslem Asia. *He purposes to use American moral and technical assistance for the promotion of un-American designs and ambiiions.*

We are asked to surrender to this military despotism in Asia Minor the capitulations—the only safeguard under which it has been possible for Americans to engage in philantropic work in Turkey. We are asked to rely solely upon Angora's promises. In this respect, we should be worse off than the European Powers. England and France, with their fleets cruising the Mediterranean and their power constantly in evidence and ready at a moment's notice, are in a position to defend the rights of their nationals.

Fred. Perry Powers, who, like myself, was born in Turkey, states the case aptly. He says:

> ". . . The Allies do not rely entirely upon their treaty of Lausanne. They rely upon their military and naval means of coercion if the Turk behaves badly. But we are not likely to use those means, and the Turks know it and will take advantage of it. We are going to rely upon a mere piece of paper. We had better withdraw Americans from Turkey than to leave them at the mercy of Turkish courts. Our religious, educational and commercial interests would be as safe with no treaty as they would be under the treaty of Lausanne with no military and naval forces behind it."

Why Allies Accepted the Treaty
Kemal's Military Power

Besides, the chief reasons which induced the Allies to accept the Lausanne Treaty have no applicability whatever to America. Apart from their pressing home problems, political, territorial and financial considerations dictated their course. They wanted to end Turkish agitation in Islam. They needed a breathing spell to consolidate the vast territories which they sliced off from Turkey, and they sought to salvage, what they could, from their investments in Turkey, amounting, perhaps, to $900,000,000. They knew the financial embarrassment of Turkey and realized that, deprived of the productive work of the vanished minorities and suffering from their inability to support themselves, they would eventually seek financial help—upon the terms of the Allies. Also, the war weariness of the Allies and their rivalries *inter se* helped the cause of Kemal.

As for his much vaunted military power—that power which swept a demoralized Greek army out into the sea—it held no real terror for the Allies. We recall that the Kemalist army, after having disposed of the Greeks, advanced to the Dardanelles, with the avowed purpose of crossing over into Europe. There it faced Gen. Harrington, with 20,000 British troops under his command, and dared not overstep the line defined by him.

We need not speculate upon the relative position of Americans and Europeans in Turkey under the Kemalist regime. We have had that matter under observation for two years, and may say that the humiliation of our educational and missionary institutions, and the indignities inflicted upon our citizens surpasses Angora's dealings with French, British or Italian subjects, even though the latter are already complaining bitterly of their new situation. It should be remembered that, treaty or no treatey, our citizens are now subject to Turkish laws, and we know exactly how those laws operate.[1]

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[1] G. Bie Ravndal, American Consul-General in Constantinople since 1910, in an article, published in 1924, after expressing keen concern over the protection of Americans in Turkey, observes:

> ". . . the personnel of the judicial system (Turkish) has been woefully lacking in training, the judges underpaid and the courts notoriously corrupt. The judicial system, in spite of many reforms, is an almost hopeless jumble . . .
>
> "Numerous persons have shared the experience of a former President of the United States, Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, who sharply resented foreign interference with native law until he visited the Ottoman Empire, and then he changed his mind."

Opinions of Americans in Turkey on Lausanne Treaty

Americans in Turkey are divided into three groups concerning the Lausanne Treaty. The first group is hostile to it and feels that it is better for America to break off all relations with Turkey than to adhere to that humiliating treaty. Many missionaries of this group, weary with the state of affairs in Turkey, have left the country and transferred their efforts to Greece, where they find a friendly and sympathetic government, and their education and philanthropy are appreciated by the population, especially by the refugees. The second group, only a few in number, is disposed to meet Angora more than half way and still persists in hoping and believing that the irregularities of the present are sure to give way to a wise and liberal program in the future; and the third group, faced with a *fait accompli,* can see no alternative but to recognize it, believing that complete severance of diplomatic relations might result in the expulsion of existing American activities from Turkey and also make worse the already unenviable position of the surviving Christians.

The views of the latter class of Americans deserve consideration, especially as among them are to be found some who have lived for many years in Turkey and are well acquainted with conditions of the country. It must not be forgotten that there is still American philanthropic work being done, and that in Constantinople, Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Russians and Jews are still received in large numbers into schools, colleges and hospitals and enjoy their benefits as well as the Turks. The missionaries who continue to labor in the interior are naturally smarting under the restrictions to which they are subjected, but their withdrawal would also temporarily withdraw help from Christian minorities insofar as they still remain in Turkey. These faithful workers declare that good work in Turkey has always labored under restrictions whether the country was governed by Sultans, Young Turks, or Nationalists. By patience and tact they think they can accomplish enough to make it worth while for them to remain while waiting for a better day.

One can readily appreciate this point of view; I, myself, have frequently put up with the most annoying restrictions in order to serve the people of the land. But, there is a point where patience ceases to be a virtue, and America would only perpetuate the unsatisfactory state of affairs in Turkey by resuming relations under the proposed treaty. The inde-

pendence of Armenia and the rehabilitation of hundreds of thousands of refugees is a much larger cause than our present philanthropies in Kemalist Turkey and deserve the first consideration of our Government. Moreover some modus vivendi will probably be found for the American colleges and missions, even though no treaty relations exist. Our diplomatic relations with Turkey have been irregular since 1914 when the Porte abrogated the capitulations without reference to us; yet, for the past eleven years our nationals have managed to get along somehow, possibly as satisfactorily as they will if the proposed treaty is ratified, which sacrifices all extra territorial rights.

Refusal by our Government to ratify the Treaty of Lausanne unamended does not mean that we can never again be friendly with the Turkish nation. We are broad-minded enough to recognize that the Turks are of the same clay as ourselves and that they have many excellent qualities which could be encouraged by a wise and humane government, so that they might develop into a genuine and progressive Republic, which within suitable boundaries could become an element of political stability in the Near East. Being of composite nationality ourselves we may take a broad view of the Near East Problem and realize that the Turks have some legitimate place in the sun.

But I cannot subscribe to the absurd and unjust view that present circumstances leave us no alternative, but to settle with Angora on its own terms. This means a violation of our wartime pledges, the sacrifice of our ideals, and the surrender of the legitimate and vital rights of the Armenian people. Our sense of honor should rebel against any such act of moral cowardice. If we desert today our Christian wards and old friends for expediency's sake, we would rightly deserve their scorn and could not hope to command the confidence and respect of others whom we seek to befriend. We cannot afford to be opportunists. We have a high and moral mission to the whole world.

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A Summary of Objections to the Treaty

The grounds upon which we should oppose the Lausanne Treaty are:

The Treaty is **(a) one-sided, (b) Unsatisfactory, (c) Humiliating, (d) Dishonorable.**

(a) It is **one-sided** because the Turkish Government abrogated in 1914 the Treaty of 1830, despite our emphatic protest. Legally the Treaty of 1830 guaranteeing capitulatory rights is still in force and we are not compelled to accept the present Turkish view-point regarding it. America is under no obligation of favor or gratitude to Turkey, whereas American Philanthropies have benefited the Turks as well as Christians, for a century past. Since the year 1912, large sums of American money have been spent for the relief of Turkish victims of war, famine and deportation, yet, the only return which the Angora Government has made is to interfere with our reasonable activities. *Incidentally, Turkey owes us a big bill for war damages which she has no intention of paying.*

(b) **It is unsatisfactory.** After two years' trial, neither British, French nor Italians are satisfied with it and at the present writing Britain and Turkey are almost on the verge of war over Mosul. **As regards our own institutions, the promise of benevolence has been replaced by a policy of nagging interference unknown under the Young Turks or Sultans. The Turco-American Treaty of Lausanne merely repeats promises already and repeatedly broken.**[1]

(c) **It is humiliating.** The chief arguments being urged in its favor are that America is not interested enough to defend her rights and that we shall win the good-will of Angora by yielding to its demands—a sorry confession, indeed, for a nation of 120,000,000—the wealthiest and most powerful in the world! The treatment of our *citizens and our institutions by the Kemalist government is a good measure whereby to gauge the esteem in which we are held—and we, ourselves, are chiefly to blame.*

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[1]Hitherto the trouble has not been so much with Turkish laws as with their administration. For many decades, the Code Napoleon—civil and criminal—was the law of Turkey, and, also, since 1774, Turkey has solemnly agreed in 21 international documents to protect the Christians. As a further commentary upon the much heralded reforms now announced, it may be recalled that in 1876 and again in 1908, Turkey proclaimed a constitutional form of government, in order to frustrate the impending intervention of the Powers. Therefore, in the light of Turkish history, one is justified in supposing that the present reforms are also mere gestures intended to delude a gullible world and to attain certain ends—to secure a loan and the ratification by the United States of the pending Lausanne Treaty.—Ed.

(d) It is dishonorable. The circumstances surrounding the negotiations at Lausanne in 1923 were little short of disgraceful. The European governments were jealous of one another and fearful of the effect of their decisions upon their home constituents and their colonies. Expediency came before principle and finance before humanity. The most solemn pledges to persecuted minorities in Turkey were forgotten, and Armenia was left out of the reckoning altogether. The Turco-American Treaty in its present form is not one whit better from the humanitarian standpoint than that which was concluded by the Allies, and it definitely repudiates the arbitral award by the President of the United States to Armenia.

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Two Reservations Recommended

The Senate, therefore, should be urged not to ratify the Treaty without at least two important reservations:

(a) Restitution of Academic and Religious Freedom to American Educational and Missionary Institutions.

The treatment of our philanthropies during the past two years is the best evidence of what will happen in the future, if not even the claim to capitulations is maintained. We must encourage our institutions to take a firm stand for the same freedom they would enjoy in America. They should not be forced into the present humiliating position of compromise which our faltering policy has made necessary. Europe blundered by accepting in its entirety the Turkish viewpoint regarding capitulations. Turkey should not have been permitted to shelve the capitulatory régime all at once. It took a generation before Japan was allowed to abandon the capitulations, as the Japanese Delegate reminded Ismet Pasha at Lausanne.[1]

(b) Fulfillment of the Wilson Arbitral Award to Armenia. Armenians fought in the Great War for the common cause

[1]Dr. Post is strongly supported in his views and conclusions by Ambassador Child, American Observer at the Lausanne Conference. On December 28, 1922, Mr. Child addressed the Conference, in part, as follows:

". . . The U. S. enjoys certain treaty rights which are the

of the Allies and ourselves and lost 100,000 men on the field of battle. We made solemn promises to them. The whole world knows that it was at the instance of our Government that the Allies deferred action upon the Turkish Treaty for nearly two years.[2] The hope was held out to the Armenians by Republicans and Democrats alike—by Wilson, Harding, Hughes, Lodge, Root and others—that we should help them to attain their independence, and we recognized the Republic, which they, by their own efforts, had set up in 1918. The *delay* which we imposed upon the Allies offered them the opportunity to intrigue among themselves, prevented the Armenians from looking for help elsewhere, and enabled the Turks to organize resistance against the Sevres Treaty, which was effected nearly two years after the armistice.

The help which the Armenians now ask from America is not military, but moral—advocacy by America to secure the fulfillment of the Wilson Award to Armenia. Yonder, on

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obligations of Turkey. . . . Nationals of the United States have invested their personal or material fortunes in Turkey. . . . The protection upon which they have counted cannot be withdrawn. . . . Turkey asserts that she possesses a juridicial system which will satisfy the other nations and their nationals. Unfortunately, . . . the fact appears to be that . . . Turkey does not offer either continuance of the existing rights or the substitution for them of a system which will safeguard foreign persons and property in Turkey . . ."

Why, then, the Lausanne Treaty? It does precisely the things to which Mr. Child objects.—Ed.

[2]Mr. Lloyd George, on June 23, 1920, said that *the delay* in making the Turkish treaty ". . . has been entirely attributable to the *request* made by America."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain, on October 13, 1923, said that ". . . *the delay* (in making the Turkish treaty) in its consequences has been profoundly unfortunate, and has affected the whole situation . . ."

Be that as it may, the Allies stand guilty of duplicity and treachery in the Armenian matter. France and Italy furnished the Turks arms and munitions to resist the enforcement of the Sevres Treaty to which they had affixed their signatures, and, at Lausanne, the Allies protected their own interests,—secured extensive Turkish territories for themselves, but did absolutely nothing for Armenia, their junior Ally, except that they declined, in spite of Turkish insistence, to define the boundaries between Turkey and Armenia.

At the same time, since the element of *delay* is the fundamental, outstanding fact in the whole situation, the United States Government cannot evade its own share of responsibility in this melancholy business.—Ed.

the Armenian plateau, an area of 40,000 square miles—Wilson Armenia—has been stripped of its inhabitants; its pre-war population of about 1,900,000 has since been reduced to something like 200,000. The Turks do not need it. Their numerical strength is inadequate to hold and develop even a part of their own domain. But, while Wilson Armenia lies fallow and deserted, 800,000 Armenian refugees—not to speak of 1,000,000 others, without the so-called Soviet-Armenia, are a people without a country, often, without a shelter. Every consideration of morality and practical necessity urges that America should insist upon the restoration of the Armenian Republic, since reconquered by Russia, and upon the union of Wilson Armenia with that Republic. We now have a golden opportunity to do our duty. *We should make the recognition of the independence and unity of Armenia, as defined by President Wilson and endorsed by President Harding, a condition precedent to a resumption of relations with Turkey and Russia, whatever forms their respective governments may assume.*[1]

Our paramount interests in Turkey are, and have ever been, humanitarian and it is the manifest duty of our Government to safeguard these interests. America has always stood for a square deal in her international relations, and should not depart from that high stand by ratifying the Lausanne Treaty as it is offered to us today.

Were this merely a political issue it might be settled by compromise, as many political questions are settled at the conference table. This, however, is not merely a political question but a moral issue of the highest order which cannot be compromised with honor. If honesty is the best policy, then surely humanity is the best politics.

East Williston, L. I.

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[1]After the defection of Russia in 1917, the Armenians of Russian Armenia fought the Turks for five months and set up a Republic of their own, which was then recognized by Turkey, Germany and Russia, and, subsequently, by the nations of the world, including the United States.

But, in September 1920, Angora, with the active co-operation of Moscow attacked the Armenian Republic, overwhelmed it in December, and seized a part of it. Thereupon, Moscow designated the fragment which remained as the 'Soviet Republic of Armenia, and made it a member of the Soviet Confederation. The structure of this 'Republic' is Armenian, and it has the option to withdraw from the Confederation—if it can.—Ed.

From A Memorandum—*AGAINST RATIFICATION BY THE SENATE OF THE LAUSANNE TREATY, NEGOTIATED BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND TURKEY, AT LAUSANNE, ON AUGUST 6, 1923.*

* * *

I.

The Lausanne Treaty surrenders the legitimate and essential rights and interests of America in Turkey, and nullifies President Harding's pledge to Armenia.[1]

On October 30, 1922, the Department of State laid down seven subjects, in which America was interested in respect of Turkey. They were:

1. **Capitulations.** They are relinquished by the Lausanne Treaty.

2. **Our Missionary Institutions** in Turkey—are made subject to Turkish laws.

3. **The Question of indemnity for damages suffered by Americans,** "through arbitrary and illegal acts," has been left for later discussion.

4. **Freedom of the Straits.** Our merchant vessels may, as in the past, pass through the Dardanelles.[2]

5. **Archaeological Research.** Our archaeologists enjoy the same rights that are enjoyed by Turkish archaeologists.

6. **Open Door.** We resume our former privilege to trade with and invest in Turkey.

7. **Protection of Minorities.** These are to "enjoy the protection" of Turkish laws—as in the past.

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[1] By a letter, dated Nov. 10, 1922, President Harding said that ". . . everything which may be done will be done in seeking to protect the Armenian people and preserve to them the rights which the Sevres Treaty undertook (Wilson award) to bestow."

[2] The Straits Convention, to which America may become a party, if she so chooses, demilitarizes the Narrows, but allows Turkey "to alter the state of demilitarization in case of war."—Ed.

The case against the Lausanne Treaty may be summed up as follows:

> It is morally an indefensible Treaty. It is an utterly humiliating and purposeless Treaty. It surrenders all and every American right in Turkey. It renders impossible the continuance of American educational and philanthropic enterprises in that country. It ignores our solemn pledges to Armenia. The economic concessions which it purports to secure for a few Americans are now admitted to be of dubious value, and have already been transferred into alien hands. The Turks have broken thus early their promises of good behavior and their guarantees to our missionaries and to the remnants of the Christians in Turkey. All reports which have recently reached the outside world from Turkish and foreign sources show that factional armed conflicts, widespread banditry, and hopeless economic chaos seriously threaten Kemal's regime, and that the task which confronts his Government is, according to the admission of its own leaders, a truly impossible one. America stands to gain absolutely nothing by resuming relations with a Turkey in this state, and can lose nothing further by maintaining the status quo and awaiting developments. The downfall of the Kemalists appears inevitable. By now surrendering our rights to Kemal, we shall find it difficult to reassert them against any regime which may overthrow and succeed him.

We believe that the honor of America, no less than every dictate of reason, demands that the Senate reject the Lausanne Treaty.

(*Signed*) Lawrence F. Abbott, *Editor, The Outlook.*
Henry J. Allen, *Ex-Governor of Kansas.*
James Rowland Angell, *President, Yale University.*
Wallace W. Atwood, *President, Clark University.*
Newton D. Baker, *Ex-Secretary of War.*

George Gordon Battle.

A. F. Beard, *Editor, American Missionary.*

Rt. Rev. Charles H. Brent, *Bishop of Western New York.*

Rt. Rev. Frederick Burgess, *Bishop of Long Island.*

S. Parkes Cadman, *D.D., Pastor, Central Congreg. Church, B'klyn.*

R. J. Caldwell.

Bishop James Cannon, *M. E. Church, Washington, D. C.*

Edward Capps, *Ex-Minister to Greece.*

Mitchell Carroll, *Editor, Art and Archaeology.*

Carrie Chapman Catt.

Russell H. Conwell, *President, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa.*

Channing H. Cox, *Governor of Massachusetts.*

Dr. Frank Crane, *Publicist.*

Homer S. Cummings, *Ex-Chairman, Democratic National Committee.*

Josephus Daniels, *Ex-Secretary of Navy.*

Rt. Rev. James H. Darlington, *Bishop of Harrisburg.*

William Stearns Davis, *Professor of History, University of Minnesota.*

Garrett Droppers, *Ex-Minister to Greece.*

Charles W. Eliot, *Pres.-Emeritus, Harvard University.*

Abram I. Elkus, *Ex-Ambassador to Turkey.*

Rear Admiral Bradley A. Fiske, (*Retired*).

Haley Fiske, *President, The Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.*

Rt. Rev. James E. Freeman, *Bishop of Washington.*

Rt. Rev. Thomas F. Gailor, *President, National Council, Episcopal Church.*

Robert H. Gardiner, *Gardiner, Me.*

Lindley M. Garrison, *Ex-Secretary of War.*

James W. Gerard, *Ex-Ambassador to Germany.*

Herbert Adams Gibbons, *Prof. of History and Political Economy, Robert College, 1909-12; Author, The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire, etc.*

Richard Gottheil, *Prof. of Semitic Languages, Columbia Univ.*

Madison Grant, *Anthropologist.*

William Griffith, *Managing Editor, Current Opinion.*

William Guggenheim.

Dr. Sidney L. Gulick.

A. D. F. Hamlin, *Prof. of Architecture, Columbia Univ.*

Albert Bushnell Hart, *Prof. of Government, Harvard Univ.*

J. Lewis Hartsock, *D.D., Pastor, St. Andrews M. E. Church, N. Y.*

Rae D. Henkle, *Editor, Christian Herald.*

Capt. Paxton Hibben, *Member, American Military Mission to the Near East, 1919.*

Newell Dwight Hillis, *D. D., Pastor, Plymouth Congreg. Church, B'klyn.*

John W. Hoffman, *Pres., Ohio Wesleyan University.*

Emory W. Hunt, *President, Bucknell University.*

Col. John Price Jackson, *Member of American Military Mission to Turkey, 1919.*

Henry W. Jessup, *Secretary, American Committee for the Independence of Armenia.*

Robert Underwood Johnson, *Ex-Ambassador to Italy.*

Henry Churchill King, *President, Oberlin College.*

F. M. Kirby, *Wilkes-Barre, Pa.*

Paul S. Leinbach, *D.D., Editor, The Reformed Church Messenger.*

Frederick Lynch, *Editor, Christian Work.*

R. V. D. Magoffin, *Pres. Archeaological Institute of America.*

J. H. T. Main, *Pres., Grinnell College; Comm'r of Near East Relief to Turkey and Armenia, 1919.*

Charles E. Manierre, *Lawyer.*

Rt. Rev. William T. Manning, *Bishop of New York.*

H. N. MacCracken, *President, Vassar College.*

John H. MacCracken, *President, Lafayette College.*

Dr. Charles S. MacFarland.

Vance C. McCormick, *Ex-Chairman, Democratic National Committee.*

S. S. McClure, *Publisher.*

Sydney E. Mezes, *President, College of the City of New York.*

Frederick Cook Morehouse, *Editor, The Living Church.*

Henry Morgenthau, *Ex-Ambassador to Turkey.*

Roland S. Morris, *Ex-Ambassador to Japan.*

W. A. Neilson, *President, Smith College.*

Rt. Rev. G. Ashton Oldham, *Bishop Coadjutor of Albany.*

William Church Osborn.

Alton B. Parker, *Democratic Presidential Candidate, 1904.*

John M. Parker, *Governor of Louisiana.*

George Henry Payne, *Editor, The Forum.*

Josiah W. Penniman, *President, University of Pennsylvania.*

Fred Perry Powers, *Editor, Philadelphia Record.*

George Haven Putnam, *Publisher.*

Fleming H. Ravell, *Publisher.*

James Bronson Reynolds, *Pres., Amer. Inst. of Criminal Law and Criminology.*

Rt. Rev. Philip N. Rhinelander, *Bishop of Pennsylvania.*

Henry Wade Rogers, *Judge, U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals.*

Lee M. Russell, *Governor of Mississippi.*

Charles H. Sabin, *President, Guaranty Trust Co.*

William J. Schieffelin, *Manufacturer.*

Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, *Rector, The Catholic Univ. of America.*

Kenneth S. M. Sills, *President, Bowdoin College.*

Alfred E. Smith, *Governor of New York.*

F. G. Smith, *D.D., President, Missionary Board of the Church of God.*

Walter George Smith, *Ex-President, American Bar Association.*

Caleb R. Stetson, *D.D., Rector, Trinity Parish, New York.*

Ernest M. Stires, *D.D., Rector, St. Thomas's Church, New York.*

Henry L. Stoddard, *Editor, New York Evening Mail.*

Oscar S. Straus, *Ex-Ambassador to Turkey.*

William Sweet, *Governor of Colorado.*

W. O. Thompson, *President, Ohio State University.*

Charles H. Thwing, *President, Western Reserve University.*

Floyd Tompkins, *D.D., Philadelphia.*

Dr. Henry Van Dyke.

E. N. Van Valkenburgh, *Editor, Philadelphia North American.*

John R. Voris, *Associate General Secretary, Near East Relief.*

Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, *Pres., Stanford University.*

Fullerton Waldo, *Associate Editor, Philadelphia Public Ledger.*

J. Bernard Walker, *Editor, Scientific American.*

Benj. Ide Wheeler, *President-Emeritus, Univ. of California.*

Everett P. Wheeler, *Publicist.*

Brand Whitlock, *Ex-Ambassador to Belgium.*

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

A. F. Woods, *President, University of Maryland.*

George Zabriskie.

The Lausanne Treaty and Kemalist Pan-Islamic Adventure

By William H. King

United States Senator from Utah[1]

The Armenian question is not dead though Armenia and the Armenians have repeatedly been betrayed both by enemies and friends. The Armenian race for centuries maintained an enlightened and independent state. It constituted Christianity's first bulwark against Mongolian, Asiatic and Moslem invasions. When finally overwhelmed by Mohammedan and Turkish forces, the Armenians refused to abjure their faith or forsake their ideals and national aspirations.

Persecuted, plundered and butchered, those who still survive hold fast to the faith of their fathers, and out of the depths of multiplied defeats and sorrows and unspeakable tragedies, they look to the future with unconquerable faith, and to the dawn of a new day of freedom and justice. They are scattered throughout various lands, and subjected to privations and tragic conditions. I speak with knowledge, having visited thousands of them in Russia, France, Greece and other European countries, and in Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and islands of the seas. Hundreds of thousands have perished since the World War, and hundreds of thousands are still without homes, and many of their numbers are dying for want of food and from the effects of the persecutions and privations through which they have passed.

These scattered remnants of a noble and courageous race, have not lost their ideals, nor have the fires of their spirits been extinguished. Betrayed as they have been by the Allied and Associated nations, including the United States, with whose military forces hundreds of thousands of their brave sons courageously fought during the World War, they still believe in the justice and righteousness of their cause, and in the utimate establishment of an independent state in which they may enjoy freedom and the blessings of Christian civilization.

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[1] Senator King and Mr. Gerard, like Gladstone and Bryce, are convinced and tireless advocates of the cause of Armenia.—Ed.

Allied and American Pledge to Armenia

During the war, as well as immediately thereafter, those authorized to speak for the Allied Nations, declared that when peace terms were written, an independent Armenian state would be established. President Wilson, as well as leaders of both political parties, stated as one of the objectives of the war, the establishment of an independent Armenian nation. And in taking this position, the spokesmen for the Allied and Associated Powers expressed the unanimous view of the Christian World.

For many years the recurring massacres of Armenians, and the continued cruel persecutions by their Turkish oppressors, had excited the indignation of all Christian nations, and had created a sentiment which could only be satisfied by the restoration of the Armenians to their ancient territory, and the setting up of a free and independent Armenian State.

Armenians Set Up a Republic; President Wilson Defines Western Boundary

However, on May 18, 1918, months prior to the termination of the war, the Armenians, by their own efforts, set up a Republic, embracing Russian Armenia, and this new nation was recognized by Germany, Turkey and Russia, and later by the Allied and Associated Powers, including the United States. There was incorporated within the boundaries of this new Republic a part of what is known as Northeastern Turkey, but which had been a part of the old Armenian State. There was some question as to the Western boundary of the Armenian Republic, and in April, 1920, the Allied Supreme Council, sitting at San Remo, extended an invitation to President Wilson to define the boundary between Armenia and Turkey, in the provinces of Erzerum, Van, Trebizond and Bitlis (Turkish Armenia).

The United States and the Allied and Associated Powers were then apparently in good faith trying to aid the Armenians in the establishment of their Republic. President Wilson, voicing the views of the American people, had promptly recognized the new Republic, and though ill and burdened with great responsibilities, he accepted the Allied invitation, and, after investigation, reported back to the nations interested his findings and award.

Under the terms of this award, the Armenian Republic received 40,000 square miles, constituting about forty per cent. of historic Armenia. The action of the Allied Supreme Council, together with the award of President Wilson, was subsequently embodied in the Sevres Treaty, August, 1920. This Treaty Turkey signed, again confirming her recognition of the Armenian Republic.

Turco-Soviet Conspiracy

Immediately thereafter, Turkey determined to repudiate her obligations under the Treaty of Sevres and to destroy the Armenian Republic. To accomplish this perfidious end, she sought the aid of the Bolshevik Government at Moscow, and both military and financial support were given Turkey by this new Ally. And France and Italy, inspired by jealousy of Great Britain, and to secure spheres of influence, if not territory, in Turkey and in other parts of the Near East, gave moral and material assistance to Turkey in its purpose to resist the execution of that Treaty.

The conduct of France and Italy in this matter is not honorable, indeed it calls for condemnation. The result was a recrudescence of the military party in Turkey; the rise of Mustapha Kemal to power; the driving out of the Greek troops from Asia Minor; the withdrawal of the Allied Nations from Constantinople; the scrapping of the Sevres Treaty; the waging of a cruel and successful war by Turkish and Bolshevik armies against Armenia and her gallant troops; the overthrow of the Armenian Republic; the massacre of tens of thousands of Armenians and the driving from their homes hundreds of thousands of others, many of whom perished in the deserts and mountain fastnesses; and finally the crowning of Kemal as the military dictator of a victorious Turkey.

Kemal Dictates the Lausanne Treaty

The triumphant Turks then called the Allied and Associated Powers, including the United States, to meet them at Lausanne to sign treaties such as the former might dictate. Obedient to Kemal's commands, representatives of the various powers, including the United States, met at the place indicated. The Turkish plenipotentiaries declared that all former treaties between Turkey and other nations were abrogated, and with an assurance and arrogance, perhaps

unparalleled in treaty negotiations, they wrote treaties for the Allied Nations to sign, and dictated the Treaty which the United States was to sign.

These treaties sanctioned the destruction of the Sevres Treaty. They cynically and brutally ignored Armenia, and, in effect, endorsed the butchery of Armenians and the expulsion of the remnants of the Armenian race from their ancestral lands. The Treaty which the representatives of the United States signed was transmitted by the President to the Senate of the United States for its ratification.

I believe this Treaty to be a most humiliating and perfidious one. It was at variance with the promises made to the Armenians by the American people and by the Government of the United States. I opposed the Treaty and asked the Democratic Convention to insert in its platform the plank which appears therein denouncing the Lausanne Treaty and pledging the Democratic Party to the fulfillment of the Wilson award to Armenia.[1] When the Treaty was presented to the Senate for ratification last December, and again in March of this year, formidable objection to the same was manifested, and when it became apparent that it would fail of ratification, it was recommitted to the Committee on Foreign Relations. Those who opposed the Treaty were supported by a large section of American opinion. The Church, particularly, was emphatic in its denunciation of this proposed Treaty with the treacherous and sanguinary Turk. Doubtless when the Senate meets in December the Executive Department of the Government will again urge its ratification.

Senator King Visits Near East

In view of the part which I had taken in regard to the Lausanne Treaty, I believed that I should visit Turkey and the Near East and learn at first hand, so far as I could, the political, economic and social conditions there prevailing, as well as the desires of the Armenian people; and also what

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[1] The Plank in the Democratic Platform (1924) reads as follows:

Armenia and the Lausanne Treaty

We condemn the Lausanne Treaty. It barters legitimate American rights and betrays Armenia for the Chester oil concession.

We favor the protection of American rights in Turkey and the fulfillment of President Wilson's arbitral award respecting Armenia.

kind of a government the Turks enjoyed and whether the United States should have further diplomatic relations with the Kemalist regime. Moreover, I desired to know whether the opposition to the ratification of the Treaty was warranted, and if it was, to obtain such facts as would fortify and supplement the arguments heretofore urged against the Treaty.

I regarded it as important to ascertain whether Turkey was respecting its obligations to the Allied Nations, solemnly declared in the Lausanne Treaty which it had entered into with them. It is apparent that if Turkey were violating this new Treaty, with nations at its very doors, it would not hesitate to contemptuously disregard the terms of any Treaty which it might enter into with the United States. For the reasons above suggested, and for the purpose of ascertaining how the League of Nations was functioning and the manner in which the World Court was operating, I visited Europe during June, July and August of this year, spending considerable time in Greece, Turkey, Syria, Palestine and Egypt. (Two years ago I spent several months in Russia and visited Russian Armenia.)

Turk Unchanged—Kemal a Pan-Islamist and Co-Worker of Moscow

My observations and investigations confirmed me in the position which I had taken concerning Turkey and the Lausanne Treaty. I found the Turk unchanged in his fundamental characteristics. The so-called Turkish Republic is a despotic dictatorship. There is no freedom of the press in Turkey and no proper effort to comprehend or to enjoy the liberties and features which belong to progressive civilized states. The Treaty between Turkey and the Allied nations is constantly violated, and the Greeks and Armenians who, under the Treaty are permitted to remain in Constantinople, and are guaranteed all the rights of Turkish nationals, are exploited and oppressed, and are being subjected to such indignities and discriminations as will force them from Turkey and despoil them of their entire property.

The mind of the Turk is towards the East, not towards the West. He may seek a veneer of Western culture, but his heart and his soul are filled with the prejudices and philosophies and superstitions and hatreds of the East.

The triumph of Kemal over Christian nations has given strength to the pan-Islamic movement which is already assuming formidable proportions, and which envisages a titanic struggle between the followers of Mohammed and the supporters of the Eastern ideas, against the Christian powers wherever there are points of contact. *The further fact is likewise manifest, that there are strong cords binding the Kemalists and the Bolsheviks of Moscow. The latter will support the former in any controversy with Christian nations.* They will seek to use the latter to carry forward their destructive propaganda, which already has inflamed many parts of Asia and is producing disastrous consequences in China.

American Honor Demands Rejection of Treaty

It is my deliberate judgment that the Lausanne Treaty should not be ratified. It would put the seal of approval, so far as this nation is concerned, upon the cruel if not cowardly betrayal of a Republic which we recognized and which we promised to protect. It would condone the brutal and murderous acts of Turkey in butchering hundreds of thousands of Armenians whom we had promised to protect, and in driving from their homes hundreds of thousands more, and in confiscating Armenian property of the value of billions of dollars.

There should be some honor among nations, and for this nation to sanction, as it would sanction if the Lausanne Treaty were ratified, the cruelties and perfidies and crimes of Turkey and of the present Turkish Government, it would place a stain of dishonor upon its escutcheon. The American people with unanimous voice should denounce this Treaty and let it be known that its ratification by the Senate would be regarded by them as a most ignoble act.

A Question of Honor

By Albert Bushnell Hart, LL.D.

Professor of Government, Harvard University

Why does the United States negotiate treaties with other nations? First of all, manifestly, for the advantage of American citizens and American interests and influence, and, second, for the general benefit of the world, inasmuch as in treaties are expressed principles which gradually harden into precepts of international law.

A Shy Treaty

How far does the Lausanne Treaty look toward making the United States happy and making the world happy? That is a hard question for the public to answer off-hand, because the Treaty is a shy document which has never thought fit to exhibit in its whole extent to a chilly world. Or else the State Department is the shy party, which is unwilling to disclose the fullness of the Treaty lest the American public should be overwhelmed with the success of the American negotiators in securing great benefits for their countrymen.

The Treaty was negotiated on August 6, 1923. It would seem that, just as soon as it was transmitted by the President to the Senate—that is, in May, 1924—it should have been laid before the American people for their consideration. The Secretary of a corporation, who furnished the stockholders with a mere abstract of an impotant contract and invited their judgment upon it, could not expect enthusiasm, to say the least. Yet our Secretary of State likes that method.

Indeed, the whole history of the Treaty of Lausanne is cloaked in mystery. Why was it necessary for the United States, which already had a Treaty with Turkey, to be represented at Lausanne at all? Why was it necessary for the United States to sign a Treaty which does not fulfill all of the conditions laid down by the Department of State on the eve of the Lausanne Conference?[1]

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[1] The one subject in which the American Observers at Lausanne were really interested—and the only success they achieved—was the "right" of

Old Treaty Still in Force

Why a new treaty with Turkey? We already have a Treaty with Turkey which has been in force for 95 years, and under which the rights of Americans in Turkey and Turks in the United States have been satisfactorily adjusted. The Treaty of 1830 was good enough because it accorded with the conditions of Turkey as they then existed. It was right and reasonable then and now that the United States and other great Powers should make treaties of a special kind with Turkey. For that country had a grade of culture, a law and a policy so different from that of the Western nations that it was reasonable to give to Americans in Turkey, under the system of Capitulations, freedom from many Turkish laws, which would not be necessary for the Turks or anyone else in the United States.

Everybody knows that Turkey is possessed of an inferior civilization; that it is not provided with a civil or criminal law which fits in with modern conditions; and that, particularly, it has no governmental standard of truthfulness and humanity to which outsiders or citizens can appeal for pro-

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American syndicates, under the so-called Open Door policy, to a share in Mosul oil.

A statement by the State Department, on July 18, 1923, declared that ". . . The American position relative to the Chester Concession stands upon that basis . . ."

The Turkish Delegation made no secret of the fact (See footnote to Mr. Powers' article, page 97) that Angora had granted the Chester concession—during the interim—for the purpose of securing American diplomatic support against the Allies.

As was then predicted by Mr. Gerard and Mr. Morgenthau, the Turks, after achieving their purpose at Lausanne, cancelled the Chester Concession in February, 1924.

An Associated Press dispatch, dated Constantinople, December 21, 1925, said that Turkish officials were amused at the claims of the Chester group and that "the cancelled Concession was only for Turkey and never included Mosul."

Mr. Gerard said, on January 23, 1924, in the course of a speech at the Metropolitan Life Auditorium, that ". . . our Government not only

tection. The Turkey of Kemal is as much outside the circle of civilized nations as was the Turkey of the Sultans,—and even more so, because it has gone through a searing experience of blood-guiltiness, and remains avowedly unrepentent and defiant.

In general, our country is able to protect its nationals wherever they go; and perhaps the Capitulations could be abandoned if some acceptable assurance could be given that Americans in Turkey shall not be subject to legal proceedings in a language of which they know next to nothing, under laws which do not correspond with the present life of civilized and free men, and before judges who are unlearned even in their own law.

But if it should be contended that the Turks have already abrogated—against our protest—the Treaty of 1830, the obvious answer is that such a pretension or act of the Turks is in itself a good argument against a new treaty with Turkey under any conditions.

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played an unworthy role in this matter, but also exhibited a poor judgment . . . "

After the signing of the Lausanne Treaty, its proponents elaborated three illusive arguments in its favor, namely, that the missionaries want it; that it accords most favored nation treatment to America as to tariffs, etc., and finally that the Turks having already abrogated the Treaty of 1830, left America no choice but to accept the *fait accompli.*

Dr. Post answers the first argument. The substance of his answer is that but a small fraction of the remaining missionaries favor it, and that only because their own Government has abandoned them.

An examination of the full text of the Treaty reveals the other two "arguments" as likewise untenable.

The fourth paragraph of Article XI states that—

> "The provisions of the present Article do not extend to the special advantages and favors in the matter of the customs tariff, or generally in any other commercial matter, existing, or to be established in the future, between Turkey and the countries detached from the Ottoman Empire following the war of 1914, nor to frontier traffic with a State contiguous to Turkey."

That means that Turkey may enter, indirectly, into special agreements with England, France and Italy, and, directly, with Russia, Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania and Egypt, and that the United States cannot claim equal

American Relations With Russia Without Treaty Since 1909

That the United States could get on very well without any treaty with Turkey is shown by our relations with Russia. In 1909 President Taft gave the necessary year's notice and denounced the Treaty which we had had with Russia since 1832, for the reason that the Russians insisted on discriminating against American citizens of Jewish origin, even those born on our own soil. From that time until the present we have had no treaty with Russia. During the five years before the War, we got on perfectly well: Americans visited Russia, did business in Russia, negotiated in Russia. Not the treaty nor the lack of the treaty, but the character of the Russian Government now stands in the way of a treaty with that nation. No responsible American is insisting that we must make a treaty with Russia, whether satisfactory or not, in order to secure the good-will and trade of the Russians.

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advantages with those special agreements. Of course, American commerce with Turkey is far too insignificant to merit serious consideration, but that does not alter the fact that the Treaty discriminates against what little commerce America has with Turkey.

Also, Article XXX of the Treaty provides that—

> "From the coming into force of the present Treaty the treaties heretofore concluded between the United States of America and the Ottoman Empire shall absolutely and finally cease to be effective as between the Contracting High Parties."

The above stated facts may perhaps provide the "reasons" for the concealment of the Treaty from the public.

The Lausanne Treaty is the blot on American diplomatic history.

In addition, the United States has never before affixed its signature to so amateurish, ill-drawn and ill-considered a treaty. Article XI accords, in the beginning, most favored nation treatment as to tariff, etc., but, at the end, nullifies it. Article XXX first pronounces all the existing Treaties as having been abrogated, and, later, denies it, and so on. It surrenders or "leaves for future discussion" all matters in which this country is particularly interested. It abandons the American juridical rights; mentions not a word about the missionaries; leaves for later discussion the questions of recognition by Turkey of American naturalization laws and of indemnity for damages suffered by Americans, and expressly discriminates against American commerce.

The negotiators of the Treaty appear to have ignored the fundamental fact that the United States does not enter into a treaty on the say-so or in the interest of this or that group. An American treaty must be in consonance with an American policy, and such a policy must interpret American principles and provide for American interests.—Ed.

Turkey Always a Barbaric State

The hard, solid mistakes of the Lausanne Treaty are that it deals with Turkey as a responsible nation of civilized people, and as if the Kemalist "Republic" were a stable structure.

Take up that presumption of the Treaty that the Turks are assembled in a modern national state, as well organized, as permanent and as firm as the Government of Italy or of the United States. On the contrary, the evidence is irresistible that the Turks are an Asiatic group, who have, for six hundred years, been fastened on the flank of Europe. They are almost the only Asiatics who have gained a footing in Europe that still persists. They have been a dreadful curse to Asia Minor and to Europe. They are far more alien to Europe than the Chinese or Japanese. They profess a religion which has, for twelve hundred years, been the greatest enemy of Christianity. They have very little literature; few of them are business men; they have almost no physicians or publicists or scientists. They have always excelled in war because of the ability of an absolute government to make an army that will obey, will strike rapid blows and will plunder the conquered countries. Their tax system is extortion. Such a thing as popular government has never been known among them. No man or woman has ever seen an open election in Turkey or a representative body that really represents anybody except a self-designated autocracy. The whole Turkish regime is one of force and fear. Yet a smoother people was never known. The educated Turk is delightful in social relations, but at heart he is still a Mongol Tartar.

The Turks were always a minority population, dependent for support upon the labor of their non-Turk subjects. In 1914, out of an estimated population of 18,000,000 to 20,000,000 in the Empire, they numbered but 6,000,000; the Arabs, 6,000,000; the Greeks and Armenians, 4,500,000; the Kurds and Circassions, 2,000,000. The Christians were the agriculturists, the artisans and workmen, the weavers of carpets, the tailors and coppersmiths, the jewellers and housebuilders. They and the Jews furnished nearly all the business men, for the Turk has neither the inclination nor the capacity for commercial affairs.

Kemalist Regime Doomed

In the next place, Kemalist Turkey is concededly worse off, economically and morally, than the Turkey of the Sultans; for the Kemalists are the grateful beneficiaries of the crimes of their ancestors and have perpetrated crimes even more loathsome and on a larger scale than their predecessors.

The pre-war area of Turkey has been reduced from about 700,000 square miles to a little over 300,000, and its population to something like 5,000,000, of which 4,000,000, perhaps, is Turkish, 300,000 Greeks and Armenians, 100,000 Jews, and the rest non-Turk Moslems-Circassians, Kurds, Lazes and Avshars. Thus, the Turkish State is deprived of the very racial elements—Greeks and Armenians upon which it has heretofore depended for its material existence. Vast areas of Kemalist Turkey are uninhabited and are fast becoming wildernesses.

The so-called Kemalists are in reality the erstwhile Young Turks, who butchered a million and a quarter Armenians and Greeks during the war. Since 1919, under Kemal, they have perpetrated wholesale massacres of Christians at Alexandropol, in Cilicia, and at Smyrna; they expelled a million and a half Christians from their ancestral homes, and are now holding near 200,000 Christian women and children in their harems, many of them virtually slaves.

The Kemalist regime is a military despotism. Kemal is at once President of His "republic," President of the Council of Commissars; Commander in Chief and Generalissmo of His Army; President of His Own Party, which designates and *"elects"* the members of His Assembly. If Louis XIV could say "L'Etat c'est Moi," much more can he. He, indeed, is the "Republic." The whole "republican" movement is builded upon the personality of Kemal. He is bitterly opposed in his adventure by the fanatical, conservative Turks. We know that during six centuries nearly one-half of the

Sultans of Turkey have succumbed to plots and intrigues. The Kemalist regime is undoubtedly the most insecure government in the world today.[1]

Possible Reservations to the Treaty

It is hard to feel enthusiastic over any treaty with such a people. If, however, there are thinking and respectable men who feel that we should ratify the Treaty subject to reservations, the friends of those former subjects of Turkey who have suffered terribly are willing to meet them half way. A chapter by **David Hunter Miller** goes into that matter quite fully, and he quotes the four reservations which ought to be inserted in the Treaty in order to make it safe and useful.

I. **Juridical Rights.** Reservation 1 simply transfers from the head of the pretended Republic of Turkey to the head of the actual Republic of the United States the right to de-

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[1] "The elections to the new Turkish Parliament," says a dispatch to the *Boston Transcript,* under date of August 19, 1923, "were a farce." "The electors," (the overwhelming majority of whom are illiterate) continues the dispatch, "were furnished marked ballots, with the result that all the members, numbernig 280, are Kemal's men." In October, 1925, 260 out of 280 members "supported" the Government.

"No opposition party, indeed, not one opponent," sums up *Tevhid,* a Constantinople daily, its comment upon the composition of the new Parliament. "Only 61 out of 1,300 voters participated in the elections in Trebizond," says *Istikbal,* a newspaper of that city, and adds "According to our information, elections in other districts have been conducted along similar lines." As for Kemal's Ministers, they are his clerks. "The majority of them may be dispensed with," observes *Tanin,* a Constantinople daily, "without any loss to anybody." The sovereignty of the Sultan has been abolished to be substituted for the sovereignty of Kemal.—Ed.

Turkish political Parties are small personal Parties or cliques. They are not Parties in our sense. That of Kemal, which is known as the Popular Party, is composed of a number of officials and officers who were formerly associated with him in the Committee of Union and Progress, commonly called "Young Turks". It is founded upon his personality, and will naturally disintegrate with his death or with the decline of his fortunes. Reouf Bey, Kemal's former Premier; Rifat Pasha, Military Governor of Thrace, and Nured-dine Pasha, have already deserted him. —Ed.

cide when Courts shall have been established that are really courts of justice, acting under modern and just law. That clause invites the Turk to "put up or shut up."

II. **American Philanthropic Enterprises.** The question of the schools is very important, because the Kemalist Government goes beyond anything ever imagined by the Hamidian regime with regard to education. The present restrictions of teaching, the obligation to instill an imaginary history of Turkey into the minds of all students, the breaking up of American medical schools, and the preposterous interference with Robert College, are all proofs that the Turkish Government does not intend or desire to allow freedom of discussion. More Turkish students have appeared in the American colleges than in previous years; but the intense nationalistic spirit under the present Turkish regime is in essence contrary to the conception that truth may be sought wherever it may be found.

The phrase in Reservation 2, "The Academic and religious freedom of American religious, scholastic and medical establishments and charitable institutions in Turkey" would, if observed, meet this difficulty for none of those institutions were ever anti-Turkish, and they cannot accept the principle that the truth of history and of science can be harmful to any human society.

III. **American Naturalization Laws.** The question of citizenship, or of the claim of Turkey that a Turkish citizen who goes into another country and is there accepted as a national will lose his acquired citizenship the moment he returns to Turkey, is very serious. The United States by an act of 1868 has declared that there is an inherent right of expatriation, and on one occasion in 1853 an American ship of war took a man out of the hands of the Turkish authorities at Smyrna because he had been in the United States and had declared his intention to become a citizen. This point ought to have been covered by the negotiators. In the treaty of peace with Germany in 1921 we secured a recognition of our naturalization laws, and most certainly we cannot yield upon that point to a semi-civilized state like Turkey.

IV. **Armenia.** After all, none of these three reservations reaches to the heart of the difficulty in the Treaty,—namely, that while it is quite explicit on the rights of American corporations to operate in Turkey under the Treaty, while it exempts Americans from Turkish divorce law and so on,—there is not a syllable in it, from beginning to end, which suggests that *American leaders of both political parties, a few years ago, assured the Armenians that never again would they be put back under the bloody yoke of the Turk, or that the Armenians had fought on our side in the World War and had suffered, proportionately, greater losses for our alliance and faith than any of the Allied and Associated Nations. Who would suppose from the document that a Democratic President of the United States, as arbiter, had defined, in 1920, the boundary of an independent Armenia, or that President Harding had given assurance, on the eve of the Lausanne Conference, that the rights of Armenia under the Sevres Treaty would be preserved?*

This is not a question of our involving ourselves in Old World political matters, controversies, or of assuming any new responsibility. *The only question before us is to fulfill an existing moral obligation to the extent of our opportunity.*

The significance of the proposed reservation No. 4 is that it amounts to telling the Turks that the Republic of the United States reprehends a government of torture and death. Unless the Turks can give evidence of an intention to allow the Armenians to occupy a definite territory—a part of their ancestral lands; unless they are willing to put an end to massacres of a kind such as has again shocked the world in the Mosul region within the last few weeks,—then they ought not to expect us to meet with them, or treat with them on terms of equality.

Of course, we are interested in the preservation of our own rights. We should be even more keenly interested in the preservation of our honor. **Hence the United States should not ratify any treaty with Turkey that fails to offer definite guarantees for the execution of the Wilson award to Armenia.**

This is a question of honor.

Christian Girls for Sale

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Special Cable to The New York Times.

LONDON, Dec. 23.—"Christian girls are being bought at $5 a head by missions to save them from the horrors of becoming prisoners in Turkish harems. Thirty thousand girls at least are captive," states the Rev. S. S. W. Gently-Cackett, Secretary of the Bible Lands Missions Society, who has returned to London from Syria.

He declares that "girls are branded on the face to stamp them as fugitives who must be returned to their owners if they escape."

Girls of about 14 years are taken into Turkish harems and younger girls are farmed out to Arabs and Kurds, to be kept until they reach that age, when they are sold to the Turks, he says. Meanwhile they do farm work. He says he was able to help an Armenian girl who had escaped from the harem of a Turkish Pasha to reach freedom, being compelled to describe her as his own child to get her out of Turkish territory.[1]

[1] The number of Christian girls and children now in slavery in Turkish harems has been variously estimated at between 100,000 and 400,000.

Dr. George B. Hyde, of the American Red Cross, who was stationed in Cilicia, in 1919, advised, in 1920, the State Department and also Senator Harding, that he had treated several hundred Christian children of both sexes, ranging between the ages of 5 and 12, upon which the Turks had committed beastly outrages. He gave it as his opinion that nine out of ten at least of these victims of Turkish savagery must have succumbed.

Ratification of the Lausanne Treaty "will be equivalent," as is aptly stated by Bishop Talbot and Bishop Gailor, "to an approval of the monstrous wrongs inflicted by the Turkish Government" upon the helpless and innocent women and children.—Ed.

A Reproach to Civilization

By A. D. F. Hamlin, L.H.D.

Dean, School of Architecture, Columbia University

Born in Constantinople, the son of the founder and first President of Robert College, in whose preparatory classes I fitted for Amherst, and for over fifty years a student of Near Eastern affairs, I desire to protest most earnestly against the proposed ratification of the Lausanne Treaty with Turkey.

I protest against a Treaty which was not truly negotiated, but was dictated in all its terms by the usurpers Kemal and Ismet.

I protest because I can find in it not one valid guarantee of protection of rights long enjoyed by us under the Treaty of 1830; because it abolishes the essential protection of the Capitulations, guaranteed by that Treaty, and offers us nothing in exchange.

It leaves us at the mercy of Turkish law, embodied in no code known to us since the Koranic law, Sheriat, was abolished, and at the mercy of Turkish courts, notoriously irresponsible and corrupt.

It ignores contemptuously the repeated official expressions by successive Presidents of the United States of concern for the rights of Armenia.

It provides not a single enforceable guarantee of American rights, commercial, educational or religious.

Even since it was signed by the negotiators, repeated arbitrary acts of oppression against American missionaries and educators have demonstrated the helplessness of American interests and institutions.

I protest against any binding agreement with the present Government of Turkey,—a despotism masquerading as a republic,—already insecure amid gathering hostilities in Turkey itself.

This Treaty would subject all American interests to the mercies of an irresponsible and unscrupulous power, and confirm the cowardly surrender of a great and powerful nation to the dictation of a weak and faithless government masquerading a pretense of progressive modernism.

Honorable Uncertainty or Uncertain Honor -- Which?

By Right Rev. Charles H. Brent

The Lausanne Treaty now before the Senate for action puts us on the horns of a dilemma. Neither ratification nor rejection will leave us in an enviable position. On the one hand we face a treaty which is weak and risky; on the other the alternative of the status quo which is interpreted by Angora as one thing and by Washington as another. On general principles it were saner and safer to accept the honorable uncertainty of the status quo than the uncertain honor of the Treaty—for these are the horns of the dilemma.

Objections to the Treaty

An Anti-Christian and Irresponsible Government

Among other objections to ratification there are three outstanding, any one of which is sufficiently grave to give us pause.

First, the Treaty is drawn on the erroneous hypothesis that we are dealing with a responsible Government on the plane of equal national civilization. There is nothing in the history of Turkey either under the former or the present regime to justify the assumption. What assurance have we that Turkey "is in a position to insure to foreigners before the Turkish courts all the safeguards of a good judicial system"? Where will our "religious, scholastic and medical establishments, and charitable institutions" be if they are treated "on a footing of equality with similar Turkish establishments and institutions" and "subject to administrative measures of a public character, as well as to the laws and regulations governing the latter"? We are not dealing with a government that is friendly to Christianity.

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America's Duty to Armenia

Second, no American conversant with the history of our country in relation to Armenia can be comfortable in conscience with a Treaty that makes no mention of the treatment of minorities. On November 10th, 1922, President Harding said: ". . . . everything which may be done will be done in seeking to protect the Armenian people and preserve to them the rights which the Sevres Treaty undertook to bestow." *The fact that the Sevres Treaty failed of execution does not absolve us from a responsibility which would have been a responsibility had there never been a Sevres Treaty.*

Lausanne Treaty Recognizes the Old Treaty as Still in Force

Third, the contention by Angora that it is either the Lausanne Treaty or no treaty does not augur well for the future. It was reported last fall that Turkey viewed the existing treaty (of 1830 with the protocol of 1874) as having lapsed "because it was negotiated with a Turkish regime which no longer exists." Over against this is Art. 30 of the Lausanne Treaty which implies that it is still in force in that it is thereby abrogated. How can you abrogate that which does not exist? Can America afford to allow herself to be jockeyed into signing the Lausanne Treaty under the implied threat that if this is not done existing treaties will be treated as a "scrap of paper"?

The dilemma is a real one. Setting aside questions of commerce, American enterprises, philanthropic and educational, must be given due consideration.

It is a matter of nice judgment what to do. But when one is " 'twixt the devil and the deep sea," the latter alternative alone provides swimming facilities.

Why the Treaty of Lausanne Should Not Be Ratified

By William Stearns Davis, Ph.D.
Professor of History, University of Minnesota
Author: A History of France; A History of the Near East, and Other Books.

The writer is a Republican, who has in the main supported heartily the Harding-Coolidge administration in its foreign—no less than in its domestic policies. He is personally glad that we did not join the League of Nations as originally proposed, but have stood stoutly by what has been called Old-Line-Americanism. He is the more mystified therefore that such statesmen as Mr. Hughes and Mr. Kellogg have found it wise to approve any such compact as the Turco-American Treaty of Lausanne.

An Inconsistent Policy

The policy of non-intervention in affairs not directly involving Americans can of course only be defended against the charge of ignoble feebleness by a vigorous defence of American rights whenever and wherever they are assailed. This is a doctrine often enough translated into action, as many a South American dictator has learned to his cost. There has never been a lack of clear-cut orders to the commanders of our cruisers and gun boats when American rubber plantations or oil wells seemed in danger of spoilation. The full letter of our treaty rights has also been steadfastly insisted upon in all our dealings with China, although the Chinese Confucianists have no such bloody record of their dealings with unwelcome dissidents as have the Turks in the treatment of their non-Moslem neighbors. Even today our Government is groping vainly for some way to abolish extra-territorial privileges for its nationals in China, although in past civilization and present moderation the Chinese have been incomparably superior to the Turks.[1]

[1] On July 14, 1923, Secretary Kellogg announced that the United States favored the creation of a Commission of Powers "to study" the subject of extraterritoriality in China, but that it did not favor the abolition of the system at once. Also, Senator Borah, by a letter dated August, 1925, declared that while he favored abolition of extraterritorial rights in China, but he realized that this could not be done at once.—Ed.

Allies Blamed for Turk's Restoration—American Responsibility to Armenia

When America entered the World War, one of the benefits most specifically promised by Allied statesmen, if we would see them through to victory, was that the Turkish problem, that great perennial ulcer of the Levant, would be solved forever. America is not to be blamed, except, of course, for her inexcusable muddling of the Armenian case, if by unparalleled dissensions the Allies threw their opportunity away. We are not to blame if, thanks to their own masterly capacity to commit blunder on blunder, British and French politicians created an astonishing situation. The fact that America, with the best of intentions, of course, delayed the settlement of the Turkish problem,—an act which imposes upon America a moral responsibility to help. Armenia attain her independence (America can do that through her diplomatic influence), neither excuses the squabblings among the Allies, nor even releases them from their own fixed responsibility to Armenia. After a complete victory, not merely did they permit the Turkish regime again to lift its head, but actually they had to make peace with a defiant Turkey upon conditions which left British and French residents at the mercy of Ottoman police regulations and justice in a manner counted intolerable for Christian residents when the old Sultans were strong.

We did not make war on Turkey. The Turks broke diplomatic relations with us. There is no good reason why Americans should now accept any penalty for the squabblings and shufflings of West European diplomats.

Arguments in Favor of the Treaty Answered

There seem to be three and only three sincere arguments for accepting the Treaty of Lausanne,—a treaty which by all consent leaves American traders and missionaries in a far worse position at the hands of Ottoman begs and kadis than they were in 1914.

1. The new "Turkish Republic" deserves encouragement.

2. The remaining American missionaries and educationalists in Turkey desire ratification.

3. We must ratify, even unwillingly, being practically under physical compulsion.

I have not added as a fourth "we must encourage trade." The amount of legitimate trade we have had and can in self-honesty hope to have with Turkey is so insignificant as to constitute no respectable argument for accepting a treaty otherwise undesirable.

America Has No Obligation to Kemalist Junta

1. As to the first argument, it ought to be enough to say that our Government has not ordinarily surrendered American rights merely to assist worthy political movements in other countries. But what can be said for an abject capitulation to Mustafa Kemal and his "Republic?" No doubt at Stambul and Angora straw hats are replacing fezzes and very possibly bobbed hair is supplanting veils. A book older than all the recent Ottoman Codes has, however, said something about the Ethiopian being unable to change his skin or the leopard his spots. We are dealing with a people of Turanian origin, particularly, the most untrained in the world, but with its Europeanized elements, a tiny minority, setting up a violently revolutionary government. This minority government has proclaimed its "enlightenment" by massacres and deportations of precisely the kind that earned a historic name for Sennacherib. It has exiled or exterminated those elements (Armenian and Greek) which alone made the economic progress of a new Turkey possible. The leaders of this so-called Republic are atheists, waging apparently an impartial war upon Orthodox Islam, Judaism and Christianity, without abandoning, however, pan-Islamism as a political weapon of threat and coercion against the Western world. They have barely suppressed an ill-organized revolt in Kurdistan, and conditions are said to be ripe for a new and more serious uprising. They are now impudently defying the League of Nations over the Mosul question, and are liable at any moment to force a war with England. If one may read future Oriental history from the past, the high-handed, recklessly "reforming" policy of Kemalist dictators (far more outrageous to conservative Turks and Moslems than to Occidentals) is likely to end at any instant with a general explosion at Angora. Then there will be work for the firing squad, if not for the black mutes with the bow-string. An experimental government like this, however bland the professions of its chiefs to Western journalists, is

not one to be grasped by the right hand of American official friendship.[1]

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[1] Much loose talk has been indulged in of late concerning the 'renaissance' of Turkey. For a correct appraisal of the recent happenings in Turkey, we must adhere to fundamentals—we must keep in view the racial characteristics of the Turks, their fixed limitations and the geographical position of Turkey.

The official Turk and the Turkish masses are of distinct racial origins but possess common traits and inclinations. With the tenth Sultan, Turkish blood became extinct in the ruling dynasty, and ever since almost the whole governmental machinery has been in the hands of renegades, or sons of renegades, including Kemal, Ismet, Reouf, Riza Nur,—who vividly reveal in their behavior the stigmata of the renegade. This ruling class is a small minority, but it sees eye to eye with the Turkish masses as to the policy which the government ought to pursue in its treatment of the Christian. That policy is primarily dictated by a practical realization of the comparative moral and mental inferiority of the Turk in his relation to the Christian. Under a system of equality, which the much heralded Kemalist 'reforms' would inaugurate, the illiterate, indolent Turk could not hope to compete with the progressive and industrious foreign resident, the native Christian and Jew. Therefore, the Turks eliminated the Christians and, by so doing, committed economic suicide. In consequence the productive capacity of Turkey has been reduced by over 70 per cent.

The Turk is a son of the desert, and he is fast reducing to a desert the lands which he now occupies.

During the past five years, the Kemalists have existed on the proceeds of the estates of the Sultans and the Vakuf and on the property of the Christians whom they have murdered or expelled. The actual revenues of the Government represent only about one-fourth of its expenditures.

Under normal conditions, the Turks decrease at the rate of 2¼ per cent. a year. But they have heretofore drawn upon non-Turkish elements to replenish their depleting numbers. These elements are no longer in existence. Dr. Fuad Bey, of the Turkish Department of Hygiene, reported in August, 1924, that the rate of mortality among Turkish children was between 55 and 80 per cent. In 1913, in the Province of Adana, out of 744 young men who were examined for military service, only 12 were found to be free from venereal diseases. Consumption, malaria, trachoma and syphilis are common among all classes of Turks.

A nation which does not produce, which is not and cannot become self-supporting, which cannot bring itself into harmony with the spirit of the age, and which can only exist on the labor and suffering of others, is foreordained to fall.

It is unreasonable to suppose that a backward race of 4,000,000 can support and develop a vast area—320,000 Sq. miles, with 2,000 miles of seacoast—in the path of an aggressive European civilization.

Like the freebooters of India, who appeared and then disappeared, the Turkish tide, which, in the 16th century, swept to the gates of Vienna, has been receding ever since and, according to all physical and moral laws known to man, must return to its starting point, at Sugut.—Ed.

2. Do our missionaries and educationalists *really* desire the Treaty? Heaven forbid that I should question the sincerity of certain statements, but it is obvious to one and all that our missionary leaders are in a very tight place. The Kemalist dictators betray their own consciousness of weakness by an inordinate sensitiveness to criticism. What shall be said of the value of remarks *friendly* to the present regime when it is realized that the least *unfriendly* word instantly provokes official action? A Professor at Robert College went on board a foreign liner touching on a cruise at Constantinople. While lecturing on this vessel, he made a few remarks capable of being twisted into a slight reflection upon Turkish culture. Instantly, the head of the College was informed that he must dismiss the Professor or the institution would be closed by the Turkish Government.[1]

This crude act indeed aroused such outcry that the matter was somewhat smoothed over. It illustrates perfectly however the position of our missionary-educationalists. *I speak with assurance when I say that even if they return to this country, they do not dare to speak (with rare exceptions) their minds freely.* Any unfavorable word that drifts back to the Levant may either preclude their return, or (even if they should stay here) be used as a terrible weapon against the schools or churches or friends, native or American, they have left behind them. At present indeed life for American mis-

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[1] On May 31, 1924, the Angora Government notified Robert College that Dr. Stuckert, an instructor in that institution, who was then on leave of absence in America, shall not be permitted to return, "on account of his newspaper work for the Associated Press and the Christian Science Monitor"; and Mrs. Stuckert also left Turkey "on the advice of friends."

Also, in August, 1924, Angora directed Robert College to expel Dr. Fisher, Professor of History, on the alleged ground that he had made, in the course of a talk, some remarks reflecting on the Turks. The College sought to argue with Angora, and Angora ordered the college closed. Whereupon President Gates, pleading that he was "at the mercy" of the Turks, expelled Dr. Fisher, who was then forthwith deported.

The American missionary enterprise in Turkey has been reduced 90 per cent. from its pre-war volume. These remnants are subject to the control and direction of the Turkish Government, as if they were supported by that Government. They are American only in that Americans still have the privilege of paying for their maintenance. For a full portrayal of the pitiful plight of the unfortunate missionaries, see Dr. Post's article.—Ed.

sionaries has been made practically intolerable in Turkey. For example, a physician of the highest eminence, who sacrificed a great practice in America to give his life to fighting the horrible plagues of the Levant, has lately returned for good to this country—the "enlightened" Kemalists have forbidden him to continue even his secular work.

I know well that certain heads of American schools and colleges, in their desperate attempt to keep those institutions functioning until the crisis is over, have spoken words in favor of accepting the Treaty of Lausanne. It is right to ask them, and to mark well the form of their answers, whether they would be willing to risk the results upon their institutions, if they delivered in this country a public address *against* ratifying the treaty, and then had a fair report of those addresses printed in Constantinople and Angora? Their testimony as to the real situation would have high value, it would seem, only if taken in *camera* where by no possibility could there be a backfire in Turkey.

I do not blame these college Presidents and missionaries. Owing to the attitude of our Government they feel now that thy would have no real protection if the Kemalists decided to prohibit their work altogether. If they opposed the Treaty perhaps they would be safe personally; but what in any case of the action of the Turkish rulers upon their institutions, and upon their native constituencies? There is in fact something ludicrous as well as pathetic in certain appeals in America begging us to give generously for the relief of hellish conditions, when the spokesmen of these appeals dare not utter one word in condemnation of the ruthless oligarchs who have made these appeals so necessary.

When formerly I have made protests against the Treaty I have received not a few letters from missionaries and relief workers from Turkey, but now, on leave of absence in America, all have commended my position. All have marked their letters "strictly confidential." They had to think of their friends.

America Kemal's Principal Hope for Survival; He Must Either Bow or Fall

3. Must we accept the Treaty under compulsion?

Now that the hope for vast oil concessions at the hands of

the Kemalists has evaporated, nobody makes any vigorous pretense that the Treaty of Lausanne is, from the American standpoint, favorable and desirable. The one standing argument is, "It is the best we can get under the circumstances." The "Capitulations" which protected our citizens have, we are told, ceased to operate because by a delightfully simple process the Turkish rulers have simply declared them abolished. True, they were guaranteed to us by solemn treaty, but our State Department seems to be willing to have treaties made by Turkey treated as "scraps of paper," although Latin American, Far Eastern and Teutonic potentates have found it otherwise. Our interests in Turkey are almost purely religious and humanitarian, of course; if they were economic, they could perhaps be viewed differently.

If we do not ratify the Treaty, and the Kemalists continue to trample upon our established rights, must we go to war with them? Certainly not; although other dictators have treated American claims less cavalierly and yet have found that Uncle Sam was no pacifist. Today the United States is the richest, most efficient, most dreaded nation upon the earth. Our power for coercion by the withholding of every form of credit and by discouraging nations anxious for our friendship from extending it to Turkey, is unsurpassed.[1]

The Kemalist rulers just now are skating on extremely thin ice: they desire passionately for American official approval (soon followed, I suspect, by an American loan) to strengthen their home position. Until the United States (the first money power in the world) has given them formal recognition, a great part of the banking and investing public will consider them merely as unstable adventurers. There

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[1] Prof. Davis exposes, in his pungent style, the absurdity of the contention that we must accept at the hands of Kemal any treaty that he may please to offer—because we do not want to fight. Of course, having advised him in advance of our unwillingness to defend our rights, we can only expect him to give us this particular Treaty. Imagine, a creditor serving such a notice on a dishonest debtor!

The late Senator Lodge, whose letter appears elsewhere in this book, says that the Administration does not regard the Lausanne Treaty as wholly satisfactory. Then, why take it? The United States which, under normal conditions, can get, without even a thought of force, a satisfactory and fair treaty from any nation, need not accept an unsatisfactory and unfair treaty at the hands of a tottering Asiatic government.—Ed.

are no Kemalist loans listed *yet* on the New York Exchanges.[1]

Today, the nations of the Old World are beseiging the American public for loans for reconstruction; and no government has greater need of liberal loans for multifarious projects than the "New Turkey." Whether the Kemalists

[1] The Lausanne correspondent of the New York Times, under date of April 25, 1923, cabled:

> "It is announced by the Turkish delegates that after peace has been made with the European powers Angora will seek a loan of $200,000,000 in America for the purpose of liquidating the Ottoman debt and thus "freeing Turkey from European domination." They think the Chester concession will interest American financiers in Turkey to such an extent that there will be no trouble about the loan. When the $300,000,000 called for by the Chester project is added, the amount of American capital the Turks are counting on is $500,000,000. They say that naturally the American Government will come to look kindly upon theirs at Angora, since half a billion American dollars will be used to make Anatolia a better place in which to live and do business.
>
> "It may be that American investors will take a page out of the book of French experience with Turkish investments, or it may be that America, which hesitates about European entanglements, will consider Asia Minor entanglements as less dangerous.
>
> "At any rate, America's role in Turkish affairs as the Turks see it is changing."

In considering the value of commercial concessions in Turkey, four essential points ought to be clearly understood:

1. Europeans who have, during the past 75 years, invested something like $900,000,000 in Turkey (perhaps one-third of that amount may be charged against the succession States) have been unable to redeem any fraction of their capital, and, during the past 10 years, they have not even collected any interest on it, Turkey having seized all the hypothecated sources of revenue.

2. No foreign enterprise in Turkey can succeed, even temporarily, that does not enjoy the military and diplomatic protection of its home government.

3. Europeans, who invest in Turkey, nurse other than economic ambitions. They trade these economic advantages, as occasion arises, for political advantages.

4. Turkey is avowedly more anxious to have American capital than European, because she professes to fear the political and territorial designs of the European Powers. That is, Turkey would expect America to defend her against the political and territorial schemes of Europe. But the Europeans are already there, and it would be an impossible task to disentangle the old rights from those that are now offered—unless the prospective American concessionaire was prepared to liquidate or assume the European claims. In other words, America would be hopelessly entangled in the mazes of the European politico-economic confusion in Turkey, with no greater profit than Europe has heretofore derived. Endless quarrels and, perhaps, wars! It should be remembered that the majority of the wars of the 19th century and those of the 20th originated from the Turkish situation.—Ed.

could spend such funds wisely and honestly is beside the point. (The history of the "Turkish Public Debt" is not a hopeful precedent.) Nothing, again, need be said as to the soundness of such loans for bona fide investors.

The one thing is certain that if Turkey is put strictly into a complete financial coventry by the United States, one of two events ere long will happen, either, (a) the Kemalists will be very glad to negotiate a new treaty that we can accept, or (b) an internal revolution (very probable in any event) will sweep the present oligarchs out of power and give us a new set of rulers to deal with. In neither case shall we be obligated to surrender American rights to the murderers of Armenia.[1]

We have now struggled along several years with our present unofficial relations with Angora. Things will not become worse. The Turks can neither ruin our commerce nor invade Florida.

In a word, the Treaty of Lausanne represents a humiliating surrender of established American rights, such as is only justifiable under bitter necessity. No such necessity exists.

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[1] The Kemalists, so called since 1919,—alias Young Turks— butchered

1. 30,000 Christians in Cilicia, in 1909, (Gibbons);
2. Nearly 1,000,000 Armenians (Harbord) and 250,000 Greeks (Morgenthau), during the World War;
3. 30,000 Armenians at Alexandropol, in 1920, (Report of a Bolshevist Commission);
4. 20,000 Armenians in Cilicia, in 1921, (Reports by American Relief workers and French missionaries).
5. They butchered and burned from 50,000 to 100,000 Greeks and Armenians in Smyrna, in 1922, and looted, and then set on fire the Armenian, Greek and European quarters, to cover up their tracks. (Report by Consul-General Horton).
6. They expelled from their homes 1,500,000 Greeks and Armenians and robbed their possessions, 1923.
7. They now hold in their harems over 100,000 Christian women and children.

Of the pre-war Greek population of 2,500,000, of which 250,000 were butchered during the war, there are now but 1,500,000 survivors.—Ed.

The Kemalists and Their Laws

". . . . When the necessity of combatting Europe is removed, the Turks will find that there are dissensions within their own body and divergent tendencies which would tend toward breaking up their nation. The Military are now in control . . . .

". . . . They do not realize that it takes generations to produce an artisan and commercial class . . . . It will not be long, too, before the Turks will realize keenly their need of the Christian population which has been driven out. The Christians were the producers and the Turks were the consumers, except for the Turkish peasantry, engaged in agriculture, and they are rather shiftless farmers.

"Now, it is a very serious question how long the new Turkish State can hold out and keep together under these conditions. . . . . I believe that the result will be that a small clique will get possession of the Government and run it badly, somewhat after the manner of the 'Union and Progress' (Young Turks)."

From a letter, dated December 30, 1922, by Dr. Gates, President of Robert College.

* * *

". . . . The U. S. enjoys certain treaty rights which are obligations of Turkey, which cannot be set aside by Turkey alone, except by repudiation. . . . . Nationals of the United States have invested their personal or material fortunes in Turkey. . . . The protection upon which they have counted cannot be withdrawn without the creation of an obvious injustice. . . . .

". . . . The position of Turkey toward the juridicial status of the foreigners . . . . is that Turkey asserts that she possesses a juridicial system . . . .

"The fact appears to be that the other nations and their nationals are testifying that Turkey does not offer either continuance of the existing rights or the substitution for them of a system which will safeguard foreign persons and property in Turkey . . . ."

From a speech by Mr. Child, American Observer, at the Lausanne Conference, on December 28, 1922.

* * *

". . . . If we judge the future by the past, the outlook is not encouraging. The personnel of the judicial system has been woefully lacking in training, the judges underpaid, and the courts notoriously corrupt. The judicial system, in spite of many reforms, is an almost hopeless jumble of several coexisting systems of jurisprudence. . . . Numerous persons have shared the experience of a former President of the United States, Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, who sharply resented foreign interference with native law until he visited the Ottoman Empire; and then he changed his mind . . . ."

From an article by G. Bie Ravndall, American Consul General in Constantinople since 1910, in Mears' "Modern Turkey," published in 1924.

* * *

"I saw no indication upon the part of Turkish officials anywhere of even a spirit of regret, much less of repentance, at what had taken place, and no genuine purpose to deal justly with the Christians. . . .

"There is no possibility that the Turks can give the Armenians a government that can be acceptable; they have neither the capacity nor the inclination . . . ."

From a report by Dr. Barton, Secretary Congregational Board of Foreign Missions, transmitted by Secretary Lansing to the Senate on Oct. 22, 1919, covering Dr. Barton's tour of inspection of Turkey, when Asia Minor was in the control of the Kemalists.

Capitulations*

By G. Bie Ravndal

American Consul-General in Constantinople, since 1910

". . . Turkey is now to be on the same footing in her economic and judicial relations as the European Powers, with the sole exception that foreign legal advisors are empowered to receive complaints relating to arrest and imprisonment of foreigners. This *provision in regard to legal advisors, however, offers little protection to countries desiring it most since the* advisors, who are to have residence only at Smyrna and Constantinople, are to be chosen from countries which were neutral during the World War. Moreover, their position is purely advisory; they can act then only when notification has been given them after arrests have been made.

What will be the outcome of the new situation? A government as yet untried in peace times undertakes to provide a judicial system which shall be satisfactory to the foreigner. *If we judge the future by the past, the outlook is not encouraging. The personnel of the judicial system has been woefully lacking in training, the judges underpaid, and the courts notoriously corrupt. The judicial system, in spite of many reforms, is an almost hopeless jumble* of several coexisting systems of jurisprudence. Moreover, there is great confusion between so-called religious and civil law court procedure, although by the reform movements of 1908, this confusion was supposed to have been removed. The Ottoman civil code has its foundation in the religious law and is therefor inadequate for modern social and commercial usages. Already the Turkish Minister of Justice in the Angora Cabinet is handicapped by lack of assistance and by a tremendous amount of unfinished business. In a recent interview, he stated that he had made some attempt to speed up the action of justice in the lower courts by lessening the number of judges, and by salary increases. Changes in legal proced-

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* This is a part of an article by Mr. Ravndal, published in a book entitled "Modern Turkey" (1924) by Eliot Grinnell Mears, formerly American Trade Commissioner at Constantinople.—Ed.

ure are notoriously slow in all Countries, so it is not surprising that thus far, *apparently he* (Minister of Justice) *has been able to accomplish practically nothing in the way of reform.*

China is one of the last countries, of any importance, in which foreigners have extraterritorial privileges. These rights, however, have not been equal to those formerly possessed by foreigners in Turkey. In the Washington Limitation of Armaments Conference (1921), the Chinese asked for the abandonment of extraterritorial rights by the foreign powers. A resolution was passed by the powers endorsing this demand *in principle.* A commission of jurists was to be organized three months after the coming into effect of the nine-Power-Treaty to inquire into the status of legal reforms in China and the necssary steps to be taken for the removal of the capitulations. On the request of the Chinese Government, the meeting of the commissioners was advanced until 1923 but again postponed. Japan, which began the modernizing of her government and the reform of her judicial system shortly after the middle of the 19th century, was not admitted on an equal footing judicially and economically into the family of nations until over thirty years later.

In Turkey, the process seems to have been in the reverse order to that of Japan and China, the privileges having been granted before the reforms had been made. *Numerous persons have shared the experience of a former President of the United States, Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, who sharply resented foreign interference with native law until he visited the Ottoman Empire; and then he changed his mind.*

Editorial Note on Origin of Capitulations

* * * * *

Mohammed II. Conqueror of Constantinople (1453), initiated the system of capitulations, which his successors confirmed and enlarged by Treaties or Imperial Firmans, dated 1535, 1569, 1581, 1597, 1604, 1678, 1740, 1802, etc. By a Treaty, signed at Constantinople, on May 7, 1830, the United States gained the advantages of the capitulatory system, which, however, the Turks abrogated on September 28, 1914.

The system was divided into two parts: Judicial and Economic.

Judicial: Civil cases, involving ten Turkish pounds, between a foreigner and a Turk, were tried before a Turkish Court, in the presence of the dragoman of the interested Consulate, and those involving more than ten pounds were tried before a Mixed Tribunal, composed of a Turkish presiding judge, and two Turkish and two foreign members. Civil cases between foreigners of the same nationality and those between foreigners of different nationalities were tried by Consular Courts, except cases involving real estate, which were tried by Turkish courts. Also, criminal cases, involving foreigners of different nationalities and those involving a Turk and a foreigner were tried before Turkish Courts, ordinarily in the presence of the dragoman of the Consulate involved.

Economic: Foreigners were exempt from Ottoman taxes, except customs duties and land taxes. In common, however, with Turkish nationals, they paid indirect taxes levied by the Administration of Public Debt (an institution representing the foreign creditors of Turkey which administers the public debt of Turkey, amounting to $700,000,000, and which function Turkey voluntarily entrusted to it in 1881) on tobacco, spirits, salt, silks, etc. They were exempt from a multitude of 'customary' or local taxes, which far exceeded in volume the legitimate taxes. These are, in reality, tributes, exacted from the Christians for road-building, and for the erection of public buildings, which were never built; for

the repair of Mosques and Turkish schools, etc., etc., which found their way into the pockets of the rulers.

Taxes were collected from the Christians once, twice, three times, by the Central Government, by Provincial Governors and their lieutenants, by district leaders, by tribal chiefs, indeed, by anyone who could display a badge of authority. Foreigners were free from the arbitrary acts and exactions of the Turkish authorities, to which they must now submit as a result of the abrogation of the capitulations.

The system of capitulations were not exacted by force or diplomacy, but granted in the period when Turkey was the most powerful state in Europe. It constituted a fundamental contract between the Turkish Government and foreign governments. One reason for it was to attract foreign capital and enterprise to Turkey. Another was that Turkish law is based upon the Koranic law (Sheriat laws), and under these laws the testimony of a Christian is not admissable against that of a Moslem. Apart from the necessity, from a legal point of view, of retaining the capitulations, there exists an even greater reason for them, namely, the absence of a proper judiciary, in any civilized sense of the term. The great majority of Turkish judges are Imams and Muftis, (clergy) who adhere strictly to the Koranic laws. Moreover, the system of bribery is so strongly entrenched that justice is entirely unattainable even by a Turk. Citizens are arrested on trumped up charges and cases are dragged on indefinitely, as a means of furnishing excuse for bribe taking. All litigation is juggled through the hands of the police, executive officials and judges, who must be paid for their "services." Such "services" are chiefly delays, obstructions and intimidation. Nearly one million out of the five million population of Turkey is composed of officials and their families. There are perhaps three times more officials than are needed. They are never paid regularly, since the revenues of the Government in the past amounted to less than two-thirds of its expenditures, and this condition is now even worse, as a result of the elimination of the Christians, who were the chief producers of wealth.

Abolition of the Caliphate

* * *

In 1517, Selim I. upon his conquest of Egypt, seized from the Abbasid Caliph the relics of the Prophet—his sword, standard, mantle and hairs of his beard, and henceforth the Sultans of Turkey claimed the right to be recognized as the religious head of Islam. Indeed, for nearly two centuries, this religious pretension of the Sultans played a determining role in the retention of the Turkish State.

In 1923, the Kemalists divested the Sultan of his temporal power. But, under the Koranic law, the religious head of Islam must be possessed of both religious and temporal powers.

On March 3, 1924, the Kemalist Assembly abolished the Caliphate, and decreed the expulsion from Turkey of the "Caliph," and of the dynasty of Othman—first ruler of Turkey (b. 1258), of which the present "Caliph" is a member.

This action of Kemal has been prompted by two motives, i. e., Political and Financial:

1. Kemal is head of the so-called Popular Party—formed during the last three years—which is an offshoot of the Young Turk Party, also known as the Committee of Union and Progress. This latter Party is now working for the restoration of the Sultanate. By abolishing the Caliphate, Kemal is seeking to destroy the source of power of his opponents.

2. Nearly one-fourth of the lands of Turkey consists of Pious Foundations, the proceeds of which are used for religious purposes. The beneficiaries of this system—the clergy—are a powerful and fanatical caste, whose avowed sympathy is on the side of the Young Turk Party. By one stroke, Kemal is aiming at the control of this source of revenue and at the very vitals of his opponents.

This epochal and suicidal action of Kemal, followed so soon upon the expulsion of the Christians, who were the mainstay of the economic life of Turkey, will accelerate the disintegration of the Turkish State.—*Editor.*

Why I Oppose the Lausanne Treaty

By S. Parkes Cadman, D.D.[1]

The Constitution of the United States of America authorizes the Executive to negotiate treaties and offers the citizens the right and opportunity to express themselves concerning those treaties. Opposition to any treaty should not be lightly undertaken, for if prompted by ulterior motives it constitutes an abuse of the citizen's rights, involves discourtesy to the Executive and is an intolerable interference with the legitimate function of the Government.

No treaty is ever perfect and nearly every one is necessarily the result of compromise. Any treaty that strikes a fairly equal balance between the contracting parties and also between the advantages it secures and the concessions it makes ought, as a rule, to be accepted.

But if a treaty is so one sided as to surrender most of the essentials to the other party; if it is inconsistent with our national honor as a civilized power; if it fails to protect our lawful rights and still more if it ignores our obligations in behalf of the weak or the defenceless—such a treaty should be opposed to the uttermost.

A Reproach to American Ideals

I am opposed to the Lausanne Treaty because it reflects upon our national honor and our ideals and is a repudiation of our obligations.

This treaty proposes to re-establish normal diplomatic relations between America and Turkey. In view of the lessons of Turkish history any treaty with Turkey should be scrutinized with the most jealous care. There is no need to allow prejudice to prevail for a moment in considering the Turk. Our judgment of him has been formed upon incontestable evidence from his own record since he broke into Europe centuries ago. What he was then he has remained

[1] Dr. Cadman, the eminent Divine, has been, for nearly a third of a century, a vigorous advocate of the liberation of the victims of Turkish savagery.—Ed.

to this day; a nomadic and militant type committed to despotism, and characterized by congenital incompetency for constitutional rule and government. What Mr. Gladstone said of him in the seventies of the past century has since been fearfully vindicated by the reign of terror under Abd-ul-Hamid and the subsequent horror of the Kemalists at Smyrna.

Kemalists in Action

Today many thousands of women and children, a remnant of the million and a half Christians driven out of their ancestral lands, are held as slaves in the harems of their oppressors. Half a million Armenian refugees are now a people without a country, a prey to hunger and every other frightful privation, and to the shifting winds of political upheavals in Syria, Mesopotamia and elsewhere. What was said about Bourbon despotism in Southern Italy seventy-five years ago and more, is applicable to Turkish rule in Europe and beyond the Straits. *It is a negation of God.*

This is the Government with which we are asked to make a treaty involving normal relations between it and our own country. It is an unrepentant and defiant Government. Hints of further outrages by the reconstituted Turkish State come to us as I write these words. They have yet to be verified. But we know enough of the Turk to understand that the leopard does not easily change its spots, any more than does the Ethiopian his skin.[1]

Why then should we enter into a treaty with a Power of this character? We are advised that our material interest in Turkey is of slight concern to the American people. Considering the situation at large this is indeed fortunate. We are reminded that our real interest in Turkey is humanitarian. That, if true, is of vital importance.

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[1] According to a dispatch to The New York Times, dated Bagdad, November 26, 1925, Gen. Laidoner, Head of the League of Nations Commission, investigating Turkish atrocities, said: ". . . The tales of Turkish atrocities are very consistent in their accounts of pillage, the murder of men, women and children, and the violation of women . . ."

The Kelamists butchered, since 1919, over a million Christians. They murdered 30,000 at Alexandropol, in 1920; 20,000, in Cilicia, in 1921; from 50,000 to 100,000, in Smyrna, in 1922. Of the pre-war Greek population of 2,500,000, there are now but 1,500,000 survivors.—Ed.

American Interests in Turkey

Does the proposed treaty protect our humanitarian interest in Turkey? What is that interest?

The reply is that nearly a century ago our missionaries went into Turkey and labored with magnificent zeal and fidelity to serve any people there who were willing to accept their services. They established hospitals and churches and their schools were the most successful of all their enterprises. These were attended by over 45,000 pupils, all but a small fraction of this number being native Christians. These unfortunate beings have since been slaughtered or deported by the Turkish Government, and in consequence the American missionary enterprise in Turkey has been reduced to pitiable proportions when compared with its former size.

The Lausanne Treaty puts these pitiable remnants which are left under the control of the self-same Government which has so nearly destroyed them. It is to dominate them as though they owed their existence and continuance to it. The curriculum of the American missionary schools is prescribed by Turkish inspectors who must be paid by American Christians. This is quite extraordinary. Everybody will admit, I think, that there is a vital difference between American and Turkish ideas of civilization. Nor shall we be readily persuaded that the difference has been abolished until the present Turkish Government has brought forth fruits of repentance. No American Christian, it may be assumed, will willingly contribute money to promote the Turkish brand of civilization. Yet that is precisely what the Turks claim the right to compel—and are now compelling the Americans in Turkey to do. The testimony of Dr. Wilfred M. Post, medical missionary in Turkey for over twenty-one years, that the remaining American institutions in Turkey have been nationalized according to Turkish standards places the matter beyond dispute.

Tragedy of Armenia

The plight of the missionaries under the direction of political Islam is intolerable. But it pales into insignificance when compared to the misery of the Armenian people. This is the standing disgrace and bitter shame of our common

Christian civilization, a tragedy so vast and ghastly as to rekindle Israel's prophetic fire in some of her noblest sons, such as Mr. Straus and Mr. Morganthau.

Upon the proposed treaty under discussion lies the shadow of lasting night. It acknowledges the claim of four million Turks to the possession of 320,000 square miles of territory of which nearly one-third is the historic home of the Armenian people. Why should the United States of America condone the infamous massacres which have opened up this territory to Turkish invasion and plunder? Surely calculated murder on a wholesale scale, which has been the stated policy of the Turks—Old and Young—ought not to be compensated after this fashion. The fact that the Armenians fought on our side, and the Turks against us, in the late World War, may count for little in the new era. But the further fact that we made solemn pledges to the Armenians for an independent national existence, secure against further rapine and slaughter, should count for a great deal. Nor is it to be forgotten that the President of the United States, at the invitation of the Allies and of Turkey, delimited the boundaries between Armenia and Turkey.

The American Church and Turkish Atrocities

It seems but yesterday that every Church in America, from ocean to ocean, denounced Turkish atrocities, not as an isolated act, but as a vast infamy culminating in the World War. That war one British diplomatist believes to have been the punishment of God upon the Powers of Europe for their base betrayal of their fellow Christians in the Turkish empire. Be this as it may, we recall that millions of our people who vowed that never again should the Turk be let loose to ravage unhappy subject peoples. We are now asked to forswear these resolutions, to forget the past, to ignore the present, to trust blindly in the future and what it may chance to bring; to give our sanction to the proposals made by those who have laid waste and burned and killed without mercy.

The proposal is un-American, and what is far more to the point, it is un-Christian. I am against it.

The United States and Turkey

By Fred. Perry Powers [1]

The starting point for any consideration of the Lausanne Treaty is the 6th of the eight purposes for which the Allies formally assured the United States they were fighting. This list was delivered by Prime Minister Briand to our Ambassador on January 10, 1917, and in less than three months we were associated with the Allies in making these eight objects effective:

> 6. Liberation of the population subjected to the bloody tyranny of the Turks; rejection out of Europe of the Ottoman Empire as foreign to Western civilization.

The next point to remember is that on June 26, 1919, M. Clemenceau, speaking for the Council of Ten of the peace conference, said to Damad Ferid Pasha:

> The Council . . . wishes well to the Turkish people and admires their excellent qualities. But it cannot admit that among those qualities are to be counted capacity to rule over alien races. The experiment has been tried too long and too often for there to be the least doubt as to its result. . . .
>
> There is no case to be found, either in Europe, or Asia, or Africa, in which the establishment of Turkish rule in any country has not been followed by a diminution of material prosperity and a fall in the level of culture. Nor is there any case to be found where the withdrawal of Turkish rule has not been followed by a growth in material prosperity and a rise in the level of culture. Neither among the Christians of Europe, nor among the Moslems of Syria, Arabia and Africa has the Turk done other than destroy wherever he has conquered. Never has he shown himself able to develop in peace what he has won by war.

The third point is that the Allies invited President Wilson to define the southwestern boundary of Armenia, and he did so.

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[1] Fred Perry Powers was born in Turkey, a son of missionary parents. His father died and was buried there, his mother and sister also spent their lives in mission work in that country. He speaks not only with great authority on the subject, but he interprets the traditional sentiment of the great American missionary pioneers who carried into the Near East the ideas and ideals of America. Mr. Powers is now an Editorial Writer on The Philadelphia Record.—Ed.

The fourth point is that Americans have a very large pecuniary, though not commercial, interest in the subject populations of the Near East. The amount of charitable aid given during and since the world war, I think, is stated at sixty or seventy million dollars. The amount given by Americans to religious and educational work in Turkey during the past nearly one hundred years—missions, schools, colleges, hospitals and medical and the higher education—I suppose, must amount to nearly as much more.

I apprehend that an investment of more than $100,000,000 *by Americans in railways and oil wells in Turkey would have moved our Department of State to energetic measures for the protection of recognizable, material interests, and would not have been received, as appeals in behalf of the protection of the Christians have been, with sarcastic inquiries, if the United States is expected to make war on Turkey.*

America a Partner in Betrayal of Christians

The Allies have betrayed the subject populations whose emancipation they promised in their statement to us of their war aims. There is no reason, however, why we should become a party to this betrayal, *and there is only too much reason to fear that we have taken an active part in the betrayal.*

If peace had been dictated to Turkey when it was dictated to Germany and when M. Clemenceau made his speech to Damad Ferid Pasha, the Turks would have accepted any terms given them. But peace terms to Turkey were deferred for a year and a half. That time was improved by Mustapha Kemal in organizing resistance and in stirring up the Moslems of India until the British Government was scared and was willing to "throw the Christians to the beasts," in the language of the French editor of Le Bosphore, lest there should be an insurrection in India. And yet Indian Moslems had been fighting for England against the Turks for four years, and it was not until peace came that the Indian Moslems became concerned about the fortunes of the Turks.

America Delays Turkish Treaty

But why that delay in making a treaty of peace with the Turks when they would have taken anything? Dr. Post's paper shows that there is high authority for the statement

that the United States procured that delay. This puts an appalling responsibility upon the American Government.

Mustapha Kemal resisted the Treaty of Sevres, which was negotiated with the legitimate Turkish Government. The Allies were too tired of war, and too jealous of each other in the opportunities for the exploitation of Turkey to enforce the Treaty. Greece was invited to do it and then the Allies betrayed Greece and it succumbed to Mustapha Kemal. The Sevres Treaty was scrapped, and there followed the Conference of Lausanne which negotiated the Treaty which the Allies accepted, and which America also signed. That Treaty is now pending in the Senate.

The Chester Concession and the Lausanne Treaty

At Lausanne the United States served the purpose of the Turks and not that of the subject races. The Chester concessions were pending at Angora and were confirmed after the American representative had opposed some of the demands of the Allies on the ground that they implied a lack of confidence in the good faith of the Turks.[1] Did any responsible envoy ever show more childlike simplicity than in defending the Turk against distrust of his good faith? We get some information about the Treaty of Lausanne from the recollections of Mr. Richard Washburn Child, who represented the United States a part of the time, and who speaks of the

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[1]A summary of the history of the Chester Concession and its relation to the Lausanne Treaty is:

1. The Ottoman-American Development Company, initiated by Colby M. Chester, was organized in 1909, and made formal application to Turkey, which, in its latest form, embraces the construction of 2500 miles of railroads and all the sub-soil resources within a zone of 20 miles on either side of the proposed railroads, including the Mosul oil and Armenian oil, which latter is a continuation of the Persian deposits, in a belt 220 miles long. The Company was reorganized in 1921, having as its President Gen. Geo. W. Goethals, who, however, withdrew in 1923.

2. In 1914, France made to Turkey a loan of 420,000,000 francs, in consideration of which a French syndicate obtained a concession to build the Sivas-Samsun line—a part of the proposed Chester concession.

In the spring of 1914, the Turkish Grand Vizier, after prolonged negotiations between the Deutsches Bank and the Turkish Petroleum Company (a British concern), by a letter to the latter company, agreed to grant a lease for the exploitation of oil in the Provinces of Bagdad and Mosul. (See, British Foreign Office Document, dated March 19, 1924.)

On August 10, 1920, Turkey ceded to Armenia in the Sevres Treaty,

treaty as "most favorable to Turkey." We get a good deal more information from the chapter on "The Lausanne Conference" in "One Hundred Years of the Monroe Doctrine," by Professor David Y. Thomas:

> "In his opposition (to a Dardanelles Commission) Ismet was supported by Mr. Child, who sent to all the delegations a signed statement objecting to the commission because it implies that Turkey could not be trusted to carry out her agreements.—Page 508.
>
> "In return for a concession Admiral Chester assured Kemal that American influence would be exercised to throw off the capitulations. . . . After the adjournment of the first session of the Lausanne conference Kemal seems to have decided that this was a gamble worth trying, and secured from the Assembly confirmation of a very sweeping grant to Admiral Chester, who had been working for it for fifteen years.—Page 514.
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> "The Allies . . . began an effort to get a paragraph inserted in the Treaty validating contracts and concessions made by Turkey previous to the war where their validity was uncertain. To this Mr. Grew objected. . . . This pleased Ismet.—Page 516.
>
> "The result was a notable victory for the Turks, a part of which was justified and was partly due to the activity and influence of the United States—Page 518.
>
> "Then, too, though they (the European Powers) were willing enough to betray the Armenians and Greeks to save the holders of bonds and concessions, they must have wondered a little at the temerity with which Americans pried open the door for business, and the little resistance they offered when the door was slammed in the face of humanity.—Page 519."

An Inconsistent American Policy

Well, what are we going to do about it? The Allies have broken their assurances to us and betrayed the Armenians and

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the four Provinces of Erzerum, Van, Bitlis and Trebizond, in which are located the Armenian oil.

3. On November 8, 1922, President Harding gave written assurances that the rights of Armenia under the Sevres Treaty would be preserved at the Lausanne Conference.

The Lausanne Conference met on Nov. 22, 1922. It was suspended on Feb. 4, 1923, owing to differences of opinion upon the capitulations, concessions and the Armenian case. The British insisted upon the insertion in the Treaty of a clause validating the Turkish Grand Vizier's promise to the Turkish Petroleum Company (a British concern).

On April 9, 1923, during the interregnum, Turkey formally granted the Chester Concession.

The Conference was resumed on April 23.

Mears Eliot Grinnell, American Trade Commissioner at Constanti-

the Greeks, and the Christians have been thrown to the beasts and most of them have been devoured, and the Angora Turks have committed in Smyrna one of the two or three greatest horrors in all history, and are we going to grasp the bloody hand of the Turk, who is as unspeakable as he was in Gladstone's day, and let bygones be bygones for the sake of what money we can make by trading with him?

Some official near the top of the State Department not so long ago wanted to know whether the United States Government was expected to go to war with Turkey. It was a stupid sarcasm for a State Department official to indulge in, for of all persons in the world State Department officials ought to know better than anyone else that we have not made war on Mexico or Russia, yet we declined recognition to Mexico until we had secured an agreement for the settlement of claims by American corporations in Mexico, and Administrations of both parties have refused to recognize the Soviets upon any conditions short of full recognition of all the obligations resting upon a civilized Government.

The State Department is opposed to recognizing Russia, but it is anxious to have the Treaty of Lausanne ratified and to recognize Turkey. Assuredly the Angora usurpation represents a lower grade of civilization than Moscow or Mexico.

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nople, in his recent book, entitled, "Modern Turkey," states that ". . . The Turkish Delegation in this resumed Conference endeavored to secure American support through the granting of the Chester Concession and at the same time drive a wedge between France and Great Britain"; and quotes the **Tevhidi Efkiar,** Turkish Journal of Constantinople, that ". . . We accepted the Chester Concession very hastily, and we hoped by this concession to gain America on our side. . . ."

On April 25, 1923, the Lausanne correspondent of The New York Times cabled:

> "It is announced by the Turkish delegates that after peace has been made with the European Powers Angora will seek a loan of $200,000,000 in America for the purpose of liquidating the Ottoman debt and thus "freeing Turkey from European domination." They think the Chester concession will interest American financiers in Turkey to such an extent that there will be no trouble about the loan. . . . They say that naturally the American Government will look kindly upon Angora . . .
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> ". . . At the first Lausanne Conference the American delegates were nuisances, insisting that the last Armenians should not be mas-

The Ottoman Republic represents no greater advance on the Ottoman Empire than that of stripping the veils from the women's faces outdoors and the head coverings from the men indoors. If anyone would learn a good deal about Turkey, and about the Western nations, including the United States, in their dealings with the Turks, he may consult "The Great Betrayal," by Edward Hale Bierstadt. There are plenty of evidences there of "the temerity with which Americans pried open the door for business, and the little resistance they offered when the door was slammed in the face of humanity."

Treaty Acquiesces in Abandonment of Missionaries

The ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne is urged on the grounds of our missions and our business. But with the abrogation of the capitulations and of all extraterritorial rights the missions and the business will be absolutely at the mercy of Turkish courts and the Turkish police. The business can stand this because it has the means of winning the support of the Turkish officials. The missions have no such means and they are obnoxious to the Turks. *Already religion is excluded from education, and religion is the only reason why Americans have established schools and colleges in Turkey.* The Turks desire the ratification of the Treaty. They have, therefore, something to gain from us. Yet our

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sacred. At the second they represent the nation that is going to 'take Turkey out of hock' . . ."

4. In the resumed Conference, Turkey categorically declined to accept the British view upon the insertion of a clause in the Treaty embracing the Grand Vizier's letter of 1914, and was vigorously supported by the American Delegation.

That the American Delegation opposed, openly and directly, the British upon the subject, and, further, urged the Turks to support the American position, are indicated by the following:

An Associated Press dispatch, dated Lausanne, July 12, 1923, said:

". . . The active intervention of Joseph C. Grew (American Observer) in defense of American interests in Turkey is one reason why the Allies and Turks have been obliged to reconsider the whole question of Concessions. . . ."

Also, a Washington dispatch to the N. Y. Evening Post, dated July 18, 1923, said:

"Agreement of the negotiators at Lausanne to leave the question

mission schools are secularized and the process of Turkifying them has begun. When the Treaty is ratified, and full recognition given to the Angora regime, and the Turks want nothing more from us, what will be the status of American missions and educational institutions?

The business, of course, can take care of itself. So long as it is profitable for the Turks it will be safe. But the religious and educational work is never safe for the Turks or from them. Besides, we had business with Mexico while recognition was withheld, and our business with Russia is going on and increasing, though three Presidents of two parties have refused recognition.

There should be no ratification of a treaty that does not afford protection for our intellectual and moral interests in Turkey. There should be no ratification of a treaty that does not give as much security for religious minorities as the treaty of Versailles demanded from some European nations.

It would be better to have no treaty at all than to have a treaty whereby the Turkish crimes are condoned by the

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of the Mesopotamian oil rights to be thrashed out later is wholly satisfactory from the American *official* point of view.

"The American Delegation at Lausanne has maintained that there should be no action which would interfere with any previously established rights. *The American position relative to the Chester Concession stands upon this basis.*"

It should be here noted that advocacy in the State Department of the Chester Concession in July, 1923,—a part of which concession embraced also Wilson Armenia—before the signing of the Lausanne Treaty, was inconsistent with the assurance given by President Harding that the rights of Armenia under the Sevres Treaty would be preserved . . .

5. Following the granting of the Chester Concession, differences arose among the Directors of the Company, and on August 29, 1923, the Americans transferred their rights to a Canadian group for $300,000, plus 10 per cent. of any possible profits, retaining, however, through a voting trust, the American registration of the company.

In September, 1923, a Constantinople dispatch stated that the Turkish Government had cancelled the Chester Concession, and in February, 1924, **Serri** Bey, Kemal's Commissar of Public Works, announced that ". . . no further relations existed between the Turkish Government and the Chester Concessionaires." And on March 31, 1924, Premier **Ismet** Pasha, in the Assembly, characterized the Chesters as being "adventurers," and further

civilized world; and even if Europe condones them, the United States should refuse to soil its hands by touching the hand of the Turk until it shall have been subjected to some cleansing process.

Turkey a Small and Moribund Nation

Turkey is a small nation. It has a population of about 5,000,000, since Constantinople is all it retains in Europe, and Syria and Mesopotamia and Arabia have been separated from it. Its commerce has always been carried on almost entirely by Christians and Jews, and the Armenians and Greeks have been almost entirely exterminated or exiled. The Turks have been dependent upon Christians and Jews even for the conduct of their own national finances. It is not merely the foreign trade that has been done by the "Giaours"; consular reports showed that the business in the interior of the country was practically destroyed by the deportations of 1915-16, because business and the professions were nine-tenths in the hands of Christians, who had been killed or driven out.

Kemal's Tottering Power

Thus the commercial importance of Turkey is very small compared with what it was and the permanence of the Angora regime is further menaced by Angora's destruction of

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declared that the controversy incident to the Concession, as a result of the intervention of the U. S. Government, ". . . caused serious difficulties at Lausanne, nearly plunging the country again into war."

6. In 1925, by an agreement entered into between the Iraq Government and the Turkish Petroleum Company (a British concern), the rights to Mosul oil have been divided into four parts, namely, Anglo-Persian, Royal Dutch Shell, American (headed by the Standard Oil) and French.

7. In April, 1923, Ex-Ambassador **Gerard,** Chairman of The American Committee for the Independence of Armenia, protested to the State Department, and **Vahan Cardashian,** on behalf of The Delegation of the Armenian Republic, which signed the Sevres Treaty, served formal notice on the State Department and the Ottoman-American Development Company, that ". . . Any economic or other concession which you may secure from the Turks within the four Armenian Provinces of Erzerum, Van, Bitlis and Trebizond, allocated to Armenia by the Sevres Treaty and, pursuant to the stipulations of said Treaty and at the instance of the Powers signatory of said Treaty, delimited by the President of the United States, shall be considered and treated by Armenia as null and void."—Ed.

the Caliphate. The sanctity of the Sultan as the Caliph of Islam was never much more than a phrase, as shown by the willingness of the Indian Moslems to fight against Turkey. But Mustapha Kemal used it in India after the war to an extent that frightened the British Government. Then, having used the Caliphate for his own protection, Mustapha Kemal separated it from the Sultanate and finally abolished the Caliphate and drove the Sultan out of Turkey, a fugitive.

These things are not lightly considered in the vast Moslem world that lies outside of the jurisdiction of Angora, and we are not yet certain of the permanence of the Turkish Republic or its President. We can afford to wait. We cannot afford to strike hands with the Turks on the basis of equality and with no guarantees. We must not compound a felony.

Dr. **Barton,** *before The American Academy of Political and Social Science, July, 1923.*

> You will remember that the Turks, after their looting and burning of Smyrna, turned toward Constantinople with the manifest purpose of repeating in Constantinople what they had done in Smyrna. Then it was that in this country a protest arose against permitting the atrocities of Smyrna to be repeated in Constantinople, where they would have been much more severe because of the larger Greek and Armenian populations in Constantinople. It is a richer and a much larger city than Smyrna, and to have this victorious Turkish Army hungry for loot come into Constantinople would have meant the destruction of that city. Then it was that the sentiment of America arose in protest against having these atrocities carried across the Bosphorus into Constantinople and through Constantinople into Europe.
>
> They tell me in Washington that never, not even at the time of the sinking of the Lusitania, and in the month or two preceding the declaration of war on the part of the United States in 1917, had the State Department and the President been so deluged with telegrams, petitions and letters from all over the country from individuals and

all kinds of assemblies, as poured in upon their desks at that time, asking that the United States should do something to stop this tide of barbarism from sweeping across into Europe, and to save Constantinople.

ENGLAND STANDS HER GROUND

You will remember that at that time England, France and Italy sent an order to Mustafa Kemal, when his troops invaded the neutral zone, that they withdraw from that zone and wait upon the border until the question was discussed in conference and settled. You will remember that they came on, and Italy withdrew her fleet and France withdrew her fleet and England stood alone and sent an ultimatum to Mustafa Kemal that unless his troops were withdrawn from the neutral zone it would be regarded by Great Britain as an act of war. England alone stopped that tide of barbarism from sweeping into Europe, and forced Turkey to come in to the Mudania Conference and later into the Lausanne Conference.

NO ACTIVE SUPPORT FROM THE UNITED STATES

You will recall that about the time of the opening of the Lausanne Conference, Secretary Hughes announced that the United States would use no physical force nor make any threat against the Turkish Empire . . . . .

The Turks

An Address delivered before The American Academy of Political and Social Science

The Turks were one of the two subdivisions of the Mongolian race. They inhabited Central Asia, which, at one time, was not the desert it now is, but a fertile steppe, supporting large populations of nomads, with here and there outposts of civilization, in the shape of Aryan cities, Persian or Greco-Bactrian. The race counted many millions, divided into numberless tribes, and each tribe was designated by the name of its chief.

Early History

In the third century of our era, one of these tribes established a great empire, reaching from Manchuria in the north to India in the south. In the 8th century, the southern part of this empire was conquered by the Arabs. During the following century, the Turks embraced Islam, and entered the service of the Caliphate as slaves and mercenaries, finally placing men of their own race on the Arabian throne at Ghanzi. Later, another Turkish tribe, known as the Seljukes, overran the Caliphate and, by the middle of the 11th century, had established their rule over Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia. Reinforced by the man power of these regions, the Seljukes began their attempts to conquer Asia Minor, which, with the exception of Cilician Armenia, was under the rule of Byzantium.

These two Christian nations were, for centuries, the guardians of the eastern frontier of civilization, and the constant warfare in which they were engaged with the Goths, Huns, Avars, Sassanians, Moslems, Persians, Schythians, Arabs, Mongols and Slavs gradually exhausted their resources.

Between 1048 and 1071, while the armies of Byzantium were engaged in the northwest against the inroads of the Slavs, continuous forays were made by swarms of Turkish horsemen into eastern Asia Minor, until the population was practically exterminated, and the country made desolate. In 1071 the Byzantine Emperor, Romanus Diogenes, was defeated and taken prisoner at Manazgert by Alp-Aslan, the Seljuke Sultan, and by 1288, the Seljukes and other Turks had extended their sway over the greater part of Asia Minor,

excepting some of the littoral of the Marmora and Black Seas (about 12,000 square miles), and Cilician Armenia.

In the dispersal of populations due to the destruction wrought by the successive waves of Mongol invasion, the Osmanli Turks, another Central Asian tribe, entered the domain of their kinsmen, the Seljukes, in 1257, and were granted lands on the western marches, in Bithynia. The Seljuke Sultan, Alp-Aslan, had died in 1073, and the empire which he had founded had long ago been broken into forty or more petty emirates or provinces. The Osmanli Turks fell heir to the disrupted dominions of the Seljukes. Their leader, Osman, assumed the title of Sultan in 1288, and began their career of conquest and expansion.[1]

They drew to themselves adventurers, mercenaries, and fugitives from justice from all the countries of Europe and Asia. They have assimilated the blood of slaves from east and west, north and south. Originally Mongolian, they are now partly Negroid, Semetic, and in lesser degree, Aryan. In this race have been merged the weaker elements of the native populations, who have succumbed to Moslem fanaticism, terrorism and tyranny, and to the desire to be free from the intolerable injustice and exactions to which, at all times, the non-Moslems were subjected. It would be interesting to have a competent ethnologic and genetic study made of the effect of polygamy and of such unparalleled miscegenation upon the vitality of the people. Whatever the cause, whether poor crossing of races or lower social traditions or debased religious teaching, the Turk of today is, according to unanimous testimony, inferior in mental equipment and sustained energy to the native Christians and Jews.

The natural and necessary objects of the Turks in their expansion were (a) to prey upon their civilized neighbors,

[1] The Turks of Turkey are basically of the most primitive and backward branch of the Mongolian race. Upon that stock is grafted a hodge podge of renegades, slaves, captives and forced converts, drawn from all the races bordering upon the Mediterranean and Black Seas. There is also a large element provided by black slaves from the Soudan and Central Africa. The piratical monopoly of these seas which was held by the Turks for so many centuries, down even to the middle of the 19th century, was a magnet which drew the lawless and criminal from all parts of the world. Of this blending of the primitive, the savage, the stupidly brutal and atavistic products is composed the Turk of to-day. The retention by him of his primordial traits is explained by the Mendelian Law, which, as applied to anthropology, is stated by Madison Grant in the following terms: ". . . The result of the mixture of two races, in the long run, gives us a race reverting to the more ancient, generalized and lower type." —Ed.

(b) increase their fighting forces, and (c) secure ample revenues for their maintenance and for the prosecution of further warlike adventures. Accordingly, after each conquest, (a) they resorted to massacre, (b) seizure of women and children for their harems and (c) to the sale of multitudes of all classes into slavery. They also (d) compelled some of the terrified communities to embrace Islam, and tolerated some as necessary producers for the wants of the state. Obviously, the total destruction of the subject populations would have dried up the economic resources upon which they depended.

In the 15th century Turkey had become a vast empire, but had reverted to a primitive condition except in the cities where the Christians continued to maintain some of the arts of civilization. Its government was primarily a military organization, and ill-suited to the performance of administrative functions; therefore, the Sultans found it necessary to extend official recognition to the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs, and to use the machinery of the churches for the collection of taxes. Also the Turks, as a mark of their contempt and a sign of the inferiority of the Christians, allowed them to be governed by their own laws in their domestic relations.

Early Atrocities

The intolerance of the Turks may be illustrated by such instances as the following: In 1048 they massacred 100,000 and enslaved 50,000 Christians at Erzerum. In 1453 Mahomet massacred and enslaved nearly the whole surviving population of Constantinople, and turned over the nuns to the Dervishes. In 1526 Suleyman, in one of his fifteen invasions of Hungary, massacred 200,000 and enslaved 100,000 of the inhabitants. In 1570 Selim massacred 30,000 and took 2,000 captives at Nicossia. In 1683 Kara Mustafa massacred 30,000 at the outskirts of Vienna. These instances can be multiplied countless times.

In 1338 Orkhan, the second Sultan of Turkey, inaugurated the system of Janissaries. Under the system the Turkish Government, throughout a period of 310 years, forcibly tore Christian children of tender years from their parents; reared them as Moslems, and formed of them a military corps, known as Janissaries, who constituted the mainstay of the armies of Turkey.

Before the Turks entered the scene, Asia Minor had an

estimated population of 32,000,000—today reduced to approximately 5,000,000. Everywhere we find ruins of Roman, Byzantine and Armenian cities, which attest the greatness of former civilizations, and the prosperity and security which could support such great populations. In the period of 385 years (1389-1774), Turkish power was unchallenged. During that entire period they gave nothing to civilization, but, on the contrary, plunged into barbarism those lands which had, until their advent, led the world in the arts of civilized life.

There was no community of interest in this overgrown and heterogeneous empire. The Government saw in the unrestrained numerical and economic growth of the Christians possible elements of danger to its authority, and the indolent and ignorant Turkish masses enjoyed a privileged position, and even in spite of that fact they could not keep pace with their more industrious neighbors. Oppression and corruption were the ordinary methods of government. The sale of all offices to the highest bidder was the established policy. The resentment of the subject races against the tyranny and rapacity of the officials found expression in frequent rebellions which were suppressed with ruthless cruelty. For its light upon the position of the Christians, we may cite a petition which they addressed to the Sultan in 1803. They complained that

> . . . they were attacked in their religion, their morality, and their honor. No husband was secure as to his wife, no father as to his daughter, no brother as to his sister. . . .

In 1774 Russia inflicted a crushing defeat on Turkey and, in the Treaty of Kainardji, reserved the right to be interested in the welfare of the Christians. The Sultan himself had set the example of intervention in favor of an oppressed race. In 1672 he sent an army to support the Cossack rebels of Ukrainia, and, in reply to the protests of Russia and Poland, stated that

> . . . if the inhabitants of an oppressed country, in order to obtain deliverance, implore the aid of a mighty Emperor, a wise man ought to know on which side the blame for breaking the peace ought to rest.

Intervention of the Powers

It can hardly be questioned that but for the jealousies of

the powers the Turkish Empire would have broken up a century ago. From 1787 to 1912, in nine instances, the intervention of the powers has saved her from dismemberment. In 1832, and again in 1839, Mehemet Ali of Egypt destroyed the armies of the Sultan and was threatening Constantinople, when the Sultan appealed to the powers, who intervened and rescued his empire from certain destruction. Thus, the interventions of the powers in the affairs of Turkey since 1774 have been necessitated either by her own misrule or helplessness, or have been at her solicitation. It may be observed that, in the time of her power, Turkey displayed utter disregard for the rights of her neighbors. Whenever she coveted any territory, she invaded it, without invoking any principle of law or equity. The motives of the powers may have been mixed in interesting themselves in Turkish affairs, but the oppressive character of Turkish rule was an established fact, and the Young Turk movement of 1908 was a recognition of that fact.

Between 1821 and 1925, the Turks Massacred Greeks, Nestorians, Maronites, Bulgarians, Serbs, Armenians, Macedonians, Albanians, Arabs and Kurds.

The Young Turks, nine months after their accession to power, massacred, without any excuse or provocation (See Gibbons, The Foundation of The Ottoman Empire), 30,000 Christians in Cilicia, and, during the war, 800,000 Armenians and about 250,000 Greeks. (See, Ambassador Morgenthau's book, Gen. Harbord's Report to the President, and the reports of Wangenheim and Wolff-Metternich, German Ambassadors at Constantinople, referred to elsewhere in this book.) According to reliable information, over 200,000 Christian women and children are now slaves in Turkish harems.

The Kemalists, during their five years of rule, have slaughtered over 1,000,000 Armenians and Greeks, and have expelled from their ancestral lands one and one-half millions. Of the 5,000,000 Greeks and Armenians in Turkey before the war, there remain to-day but 320,000.

For the first time in 2,000 years, Christianity has been destroyed in Asia Minor—the lamps of the Seven Churches now lie broken and extinguished.

VAHAN CARDASHIAN.

The Turk--Unchanged

December 15, 1925

* * *

TURKISH ATROCITIES SHOCK THE LEAGUE

Mission Reports 3,000 Christians Were Pillaged, Ravished, Murdered or Deported by Turks.

FIVE WOMEN BURIED ALIVE

Aged, Sick and Young Were Slain When Unable to Keep Pace With Deported.

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Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES

GENEVA, Dec. 15.—The Council of the League of Nations decided by a unanimous vote at a private session this morning to give Mosul as far north as the Brussels line to Iraq, which is under mandate to Britain . . .

Following the morning session the Council permitted the publication of a report which may turn the whole civilized world against Turkey and even cause a general demand by the nations of Christendom for the release of all Christians from Turkish rule. The report was prepared by the League mission headed by General Laidoner, and is filled with barbarous and atrocious acts unsurpassed in history, except by Turkey, since the Roman persecutions of the Christians. As the report was written by a man who did not hesitate to have 130 Communists shot in a single afternoon in order to repress the Esthonian rebellion, it is doubly significant. There is no question that the report influenced the Council's decision to give Mosul to Iraq, as the occupation of Mosul by the Turks would have meant the murder or flight of the 50,000 Christians who are living in the disputed territory.

The report describes the systematic manner in which the 62d Regiment of Turkish infantry, acting under orders from Angora, sacked villages, violated women and killed men and children in the portion of disputed territory held by the Turks. It was prepared after a general investigation had been carried on by the League commission among the 3,000 Christians who escaped from the deportation files and crossed the frontier of Iraq, where they are now living in the most miserable conditions.

Kurdish Chiefs Were Shot.

The deportations are said to have been commenced last Spring after the Kurdish chiefs, following a parley, refused to carry out Angora orders to massacre them. Several Kurdish chiefs are reported to have been shot by the Turks because of this refusal.

The history of all the villages is practically the same, but perhaps the outstanding act of barbarity is the burying of five women alive under large stones because they were unable to keep up with the hard-pushed column of deportees.

In the village of Baijo, contain-

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ing 200 houses, the Turks installed themselves in September and summoned the priest, the Mayor and other heads of the village and ordered the surrender of rifles. The priest was made a hostage and was threatened to be burned alive if the rifles were not given up in two hours, and a can of petrol was placed in front of him. Meanwhile the soldiers outraged his wife and others, and beat the Mayor with cudgels during the whole time of the search.

Five days later the Turks returned and after choosing forty of the prettiest women, shut their husbands up in an isolated place and massacred them.

The deportation commenced after six days, during which time Turkish soldiers massacred the old men, the sick and the children whom they judged would be unable to follow the convoy.

One refugee reported that his wife, his child and his brother-in-law were all killed before his eyes because they could not keep up with the column. Of the family of the Mayor, containing 100 persons, only thirteen escaped, the others were all massacred with the exception of four, who were enslaved by the soldiers.

In a village in one of the richest districts, owning 10,000 head of cattle, only 348 persons escaped to Iraq.

The village of Merga, after repeated raids, was surrounded in September by 500 soldiers under Colonel Backy. Women were separated from the men and children and the column set out between two files of sentries. Two men were killed before the column left the village, five women were buried alive under huge stones because they fell by the wayside from exhaustion, three girls were killed and several children abandoned because their mothers were too weak to carry them.

During the pillage of Alto four men and seven women were killed, and all the comely women outraged while being driven toward Begauda.

Village Pillaged and Ravaged.

The village of Billo, after being once raided and fined, was surrounded on Sept. 8 by 300 soldiers, who imposed a fine of 300 Turkish pounds and collected all the cattle. Then they plundered all the houses and violated nine women. The villagers were then deported.

That night, upon their arrival at Erkrur, the women were all separated from their husbands and outraged. Those who attempted to resist were killed. This was repeated on each of ten nights till Cueznah was reached. Those who fell from exhaustion were killed by blows from the soldiers' rifles.

It will be recalled that when the commission was sent to Mosul on the request of the British Government to investigate the alleged massacres, the Turks refused permission.

The Turkish delegates here, who were busy packing this afternoon refused to comment on the report, except to ask how much the authors of the report had been paid for the work.

Reports from the Mosul frontier indicate that the outlawry of the fez and the abolition of the veil are about as far as Kemal is willing to go in his concessions to Western ideas. The kidnaping and massacre of Christians still proceed under cover of the thin veneer of new Turkish civilization. — *Christian Science Monitor, December* 14, 1925.

Text of the Official Summary of the Lausanne Treaty, Given Out by the State Department, on August 6, 1923 [1]

"Preamble.—The purpose of the treaty is to regulate the conditions of intercourse between the United States and Turkey and to define the rights of their respective nationals in the territory of the other in accordance with the principles of international law and on the basis of reciprocity.

"Article 1.—Most-favored-nation treatment is accorded to the diplomatic officers of the two countries.

"Article 2.—Provides for the abrogation of the capitulations relating to the regime of foreigners in Turkey, both as regards conditions of entry and residence and as regards fiscal and judicial questions.

"Article 3.—Nationals of the high contracting parties have full liberty of entry, travel and residence upon conforming to the laws of the country, and shall enjoy protection in conformity with international law. Their property shall not be taken without due process of law or without indemnity.

"They may, under the local laws and regulations in force, engage in every kind of profession, commerce, etc., not forbidden by law to all foreigners. They shall have the right to possess and dispose of all kinds of movable property on a footing of equality with the nationals of the country. As regards immovable property, the nationals of each country shall, in the territory of the other, enjoy the treatment generally accorded to foreigners by the laws of the place where the property is situated, subject to reciprocity.

[1] In giving out the Summary of the Treaty, Secretary Hughes authorized this statement: "As agreement was not reached with regard to the manner of settlement of claims against the respective Governments, Mr. Grew exchanged communications with Ismet Pasha which provided for further consideration of this question at an early date and reserved the right of the two Governments to withhold ratification of the treaties until an accord on the point has been reached."—*N. Y. Times.*

This Summary of the Treaties is fairly complete, except as to Articles XI and XXX, referred to in footnotes, on pages 115 and 116.—Ed.

"They may own, lease and construct buildings, for residential purposes or any other purpose permitted by the present treaty.

"Upon conforming to the laws they shall enjoy liberty of conscience and worship and shall, equally with the nationals of the country, have free access to the tribunals.

"Article 4.—Commercial, industrial and financial companies and associations, organized under the laws of the United States and Turkey and maintaining head offices in the country in which they are organized, shall be recognized by the other country provided they pursue no aims contrary to its laws.

"They shall be entitled to the same protection as that accorded to nationals in Article 3. Subject to the applicable laws they shall have free access to the courts. Such companies and associations shall, subject to the laws in force in the country, have the right to acquire, possess and dispose of every kind of movable property. As regards immovable property and the right to engage in commerce and industry, such companies shall enjoy, on condition of reciprocity, the treatment generally accorded by the laws in the locality where such companies are constituted.

"They shall be able freely to carry on their activities subject to the requirements of public order.

"Article 5.—Domiciliary visits and searches of dwellings, warehouses, factories, etc., of nationals or companies, as well as the inspection of books, accounts, etc., shall take place only under the conditions and in the form prescribed by the laws with respect to the nationals of the country.

"Article 6.—The nationals of one country in the territory of another shall not be subject to military service, and both individuals and companies shall be exempt from forced loans or other exceptional levies on property.

"Article 7.—The nationals of each country shall be accorded, in the territory of the other, the same treatment as natives in all matters concerning the collection of taxes, imposts and other charges. The companies mentioned in Article 4 shall, on condition of reciprocity, enjoy the same treatment as any similar foreign company. But this article does not apply to exemption from taxes, etc., accorded to State institutes or concessionaires of a public utility.

Matters of Personal Status

"Article 8.—In matters of personal status and family law (e. g., marriage, divorce, dowry, adoption, etc.) and, as regards movable property, the law of succession, liquidation, etc., citizens of the United States in Turkey shall be subject exclusively to the jurisdiction of the tribunals or other national authorities of the United States sitting outside of Turkey.

"This does not affect the special rights of consuls in matters of civil status under international law, or special agreements, nor does it preclude the Turkish tribunals from requiring proof regarding matters coming within the competence of the national tribunals of the interested parties. Turkish tribunals may also have jurisdiction in the above mentioned cases provided all interested parties submit thereto in writing.

"Article 9.—Provides for freedom of commerce and navigation between the two countries upon most-favored-nation treatment, subject to sanitary, police and customs regulations. The merchant ships of the two countries shall not be subjected to higher tonnage dues or port charges than national vessels. However, this article and other provisions in the treaty do not apply to the coastwise trade.

"Article 10.—Merchant and war vessels and aircraft of the United States enjoy complete liberty of navigation and passage in the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus on a basis of equality with similar craft of the most-favored-nation, subject to the rules relating to such navigation and passage of the Straits Convention of Lausanne of July 24, 1923.

Import and Export Duties

"Article 11.—Most-favored-nation treatment as regards import duties is accorded to articles exported from one country to the other, and no export duty is to be levied higher than that imposed upon similar articles exported to any other foreign country. No prohibition or restriction shall be imposed upon the importation or exportation of an article which is not equally applied to those of the most favored nation.

"Vessels and goods of the two countries shall be accorded the same facilities accorded to a third country, irrespective of any favors granted by the third State for special treatment.

"This article does not apply to the commerce between the United States and Cuba and the Panama Canal Zone, nor to special arrangements between Turkey and the countries detached from the Ottoman Empire since 1914.[1]

"Article 12.—Most-favored-nation treatment is provided as regards the collection of consumption, excise, octroi and other local taxes on merchandise.

"Article 13.—Most-favored-nation treatment is accorded all merchandise as regards transit warehousing.

"Article 14.—No dues for tonnage, harbor, pilotage, etc., shall be levied on any vessels which are not equally levied on national vessels.

"Article 15.—Any vessel carrying papers required by its laws shall be deemed to be a vessel of the country whose flag it flies.

"Article 16.—Most-favored-nation treatment is accorded regarding patents, trade-marks, etc.

"Articles 17 to 26 define in detail the rights and duties of consular officers.

"Article 27.—Provides for the protection of shipwrecked vessels and for the operations of salvage.

"Article 28.—For the purpose of the present treaty the territories of the two countries are considered to comprise all land, water and air over which sovereignty is exercised, except the Panama Canal Zone.

"Article 29.—No taxes are to be collected from American citizens for any taxable periods prior to the fiscal year 1922-23 which, under the laws in force on Aug. 1, 1914, were not applicable to them. Any taxes collected after May 15, 1923, on periods prior to the fiscal year 1922 will be returned,

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[1] Article XI reads in part:

"The provisions of the present Article do not extend to the special advantages and favors in the matter of the customs tariff, or generally in any other commercial matter, existing, or to be established in the future, between Turkey and the countries detached from the Ottoman Empire following the war of 1914, nor to frontier traffic with a State contiguous to Turkey."

but no taxes collected before May 15, 1923, for periods prior to May 15, 1923, will be returned.

"Article 30.—All previous treaties between the United States and Turkey are abrogated. A new extradition treaty is to replace the one of 1874.[1]

"Article 31.—The treaty shall come into force two months after the exchange of ratifications. Articles 1 and 2 shall be permanent. Articles 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 shall be for the duration of seven years, while Articles 9 to 28 shall remain in force for five years. If neither country notifies the other six months before the expiration of these periods of its intention to denounce any of the articles in question, they shall remain in force until the expiration of a period of six months from the date on which they shall have been denounced.

"Article 32.—The French, English and Turkish text of this treaty shall be ratified. In case of differences the French text shall prevail. Ratifications are to be exchanged at Constantinople as soon as possible."

". . . . The system of capitulations was a necessary result of the absence of a competent and even-handed judiciary. Justice was sold to the highest bidder. And a nation does not turn a new leaf overnight. . . . I congratulate the Turks on having written the best one-sided bargain in international Treaty making. . . . The Treaty proposes that Americans shall have the same rights in Turkey as the natives. The irony of this is that the natives have no rights. And what has Turkey hitherto done with agreements? She has never kept one and does not know how to. We would be better off without any agreement with Turkey at all. . . ."

From a Speech by Ex-Ambassador Straus, on Nov. 24, 1923.

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[1] Article XXX of the Lausanne Treaty further provides that—

"From the coming into force of the present Treaty the treaties heretofore concluded between the United States of America and the Ottoman Empire shall absolutely and finally cease to be effective as between the Contracting High Parties."

President Harding and Armenia

Senator Harding (Dec. 19, 1918):

". . . I am glad to advise you of my friendly disposition toward the Resolution offered by Senator Lodge, in favor of the independence of Armenia."[1]

Senator Harding (Oct. 25, 1919):

". . . I am in favor of the recommendations which you indicate, but do not pretend to say what will be the judgment of the entire Foreign Relations Committee."[2]

Senator Harding (Nov. 3, 1919):

"I have long had it in mind to recommend that we send a naval force to Batum with a force of Marines sufficient to guard the lines of communication and to contribute to the morale of the struggling Armenian forces. There never has been any serious doubt about granting recognition to the Armenian Republic, and there never has been any serious objection to permitting the organization of an Armenian military force in this country; that is to say, a force of volunteer Americans of Armenian origin, or Armenians in this country."

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[1] The Resolution urged that the Peace Conference, of which America was a member *make arrangements for helping* Armenia to establish an independent Republic, comprising Turkish and Russian Armenia.

[2] A sub-Committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, under the Chairmanship of Senator Harding and including Senator Williams and Senator New, held hearings, from Sept. 27 to Oct. 10, 1919, on the Lodge-Williams Resolution. The sub-Committee *did not make* the recommendations which Senator Harding favored, and *did not make* its report for 7 long months, or until May 14, 1920.—Ed.

Senator Harding (Nov. 11, 1919):

". . . I am very hopeful that we shall be able to get in our report on the Armenian question this week. I have told you the cause of delay. We are now promised the printed report of our hearings in time to secure *definite action this week.*"

President-Elect Harding (Dec. 27, 1920):

"I am in favor of the United States addressing identic notes to the Allies and Turkey insisting upon the execution of the Wilson award to Armenia, and have requested Senator Lodge to so advise the State Department." (Orally.)

President Harding (May 30, 1921):

". . . I am still in favor of the independence of Armenia and of the American people and Government doing their share in the upbuilding of Armenia."

President Harding (Nov. 26, 1921):

". . . I am very happy to reply that the Cilician situation has been given attention, and we have had assurance from the proper authority that those stricken will not be left without military protection. I had the matter taken up through Secretary Hughes and he assured me only yesterday that everything has been done that seems necessary to do and he has the most gratifying assurances from spokesmen for our former allies abroad."[1]

President Harding (Nov. 10, 1922, on the eve of the Lausanne Conference):

". . . Everything which may be done will be done in seeking to protect the Armenian people and preserve to them the rights which the Sevres Treaty undertook (Wilson award) to bestow."

[1] The Cilician Armenians have since been deported, and over 10,000 have perished from privation.—Ed.

Armenia and the President

[Telegram.]

November 9, 1922.

To The President, Washington, D. C.

If you have no objection I desire to publish my letter to you, dated November Eighth, concerning Armenia.

JAMES W. GERARD.

[Telegram.]

November 10, 1922.

The White House, Washington, D. C.
Hon. James W. Gerard,
One Madison Avenue, N. Y. City.

Telegram received. The President has no objection to your publishing your letter to him of November Eighth.

GEORGE B. CHRISTIAN, JR.

New York, November 8, 1922.

To the President, Washington, D. C.

Mr. President: The attitude of the Administration toward the Armenian case is not indicated in the published copies of the identic aides de memoire which the Department of State has addressed to our Ambassadors accredited to the principal allied powers. Mention, however, is made of the adhesion of the Administration to the proposal for the "protection" of the minorities under some suitable arrangement. Quite obviously, and because of the facts hereinafter set forth, this proposal cannot possibly relate to the Armenian case.

The problem of the Christian minorities in Turkey has now become one of maintenance and permanent accommodation of two million or more Armenian and Greek refugees, who have been dispossessed by the Turks, and who now depend for support largely upon America. The suitableness of any arrangement for their protection must be determined by its effectiveness, and no arrangement can be effective which depends upon the good faith of the Turks and upon the contingent action of the powers. Since 1774 the Turks have agreed in some twenty-one international documents to insure the protection of the Christians. Obviously there is but one effective way of protecting the Christians, and that is removal of Turkish rule over them.

By a letter dated September 5, 1922, I expressed a fear that unless we actively sponsored the cause of Armenia, the

Allies would sacrifice her in the final settlement with Turkey, and I indicated some of the considerations which, I believed, must necessarily guide our policy toward Armenia. I now desire to bring out more fully the cardinal reasons which impose upon America the duty and responsibility to act as sponsor for Armenia and to secure her freedom.

I. On October 30, 1918, Turkey capitulated to the Allies. The Turkish army, then demoralized, numbered barely 50,000 men. At that time the Allies were in a position to impose on Turkey the terms of any peace whatever.

The Allies did not ask America to help them settle the Turkish problem. Nor did the Armenians ask America to help in the setting up of the proposed Armenian State. The Turks had slaughtered over 800,000 non-combatant Armenians, and 200,000 Armenians had fought in the ranks of the allied armies, or as independent units. The Allies had made solemn and specific pledges that the creation of an Armenian State would be one of the essential terms of peace.

Under the circumstances above set forth, the Peace Conference took up the consideration of the Turkish problem in February, 1919, and official spokesmen of France urged the Armenians to ask France to take a mandate for certain parts of Armenia.

But the President requested the Allies to defer discussion of the Turkish Treaty, and conveyed to them and to the Armenians the impression that America was favorably disposed to assume the Armenian mandate. Furthermore, he expressed to the Allies the hope that it might be possible for America to give them a definite answer in August or September, 1919. Whereupon the Allies ceased consideration of the Turkish Treaty, and the Armenians rejected the French proposal and turned to America.

II. During the Summer of 1919 Great Britain announced her intention of withdrawing her troops from the Trans-Caucasus and Armenia. (She had about 500 men in Armenia.) At that time the Armenians lacked any adequate means of self-defense. Therefore, in August, 1919, several members of our committee, including Messrs. Hughes, Root, Lodge, Eliot and others, authorized me to ask the President to send American troops to Armenia to replace the British, and to furnish equipment for an Armenian army.

Then, on September 5, 1919, the Secretary of State informed me that, "with the cordial approval of this Govern-

ment, France has agreed to send immediately ten or twelve thousand troops into the Caucasus to replace the British troops."

On September 8, 1919, Senator Williams offered a resolution in the Senate authorizing the President to send troops to Armenia; to furnish equipment for an Armenian army, &c. This resolution was consolidated with the Lodge resolution of December, 1918, and hearings were held by a subcommittee of the Senate under your Chairmanship.

In view of this action of the Senate, France held back the proposed dispatch of troops to Armenia, and Great Britain refrained, for a similar reason, from furnishing arms and munitions.

With the conclusion of the hearings on October 19, 1919, you, Mr. President, as Chairman of the subcommittee of the Senate, informed me that, realizing as you did the desperate character of the situation in Armenia, you would report at once, and further, specified the recommendations which you were disposed to make. Then months elapsed, but no action was taken.

Consequently, by numerous letters and telegrams, I conveyed to you information showing that the conditions in Armenian were growing worse from day to day; that the Turks were deriving comfort and encouragement from our delay; that the Armenians were defenseless, and could not get help elsewhere pending the disposition of your committee's resolution, and that we would be responsible for the consequences of our dilatory policy.

You acknowledged the justice and force of these arguments, but owing to the Presidential primaries in which you were engaged, you did not make your report for seven months, or until May 13, 1920, and your report did not contain the recommendation which you said you would make.

The delay of one and one-half years which we imposed upon the Allies deprived the Armenians of the opportunity of looking for help elsewhere; offered some of the Allies the opportunity to intrigue among themselves, and made it possible for the Turks to organize themselves with the active aid of two of the Allies.

The destruction of the independence of Armenia: the slaughter, at the hands of the Turks, of 300,000 additional Armenians since the conclusion of the armistice, and the present terrible plight of the Armenian people are the natural consequences of the policy of procrastination which we pursued.

On December 17, 1920, after your election, when Mr. Jessup and I had the honor of conferring with you on this matter, you expressed yourself as being in favor of the Department of State addressing identic notes to the Allies, insisting that they carry out the Armenian provisions of the Sevres Treaty. Thus you recognized then our duty and right to speak for Armenia to the powers.

In the light of our responsibility for the plight of Armenia and of your own pledges to Armenia, some of which I have mentioned, I now express the most earnest hope that you may direct the Department of State to take the step which you favored on December 17, 1920.[a]

Most respectfully yours,

(Signed) James W. Gerard.

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[a]In reply to the foregoing, President Harding, by a letter, dated November 10, 1922, gave assurances that—

> ". . . Everything which may be done will be done in seeking to protect the Armenian people and preserve to them the rights which the Sevres Treaty undertook to bestow."

On December 10, 1922, Lord Curzon, on behalf of Great Britain, France and Italy, advised the Turkish Delegation at Lausanne that the Allies would insist on the erection of a State or National Home for the Armenians.

But, on December 30, Richard Washburn Child, Chief American Observer, spoke "in principle" in favor of assigning a "refuge" to the Armenians; and, the following day, the American Delegation displayed an *official* notice on the billboard that its statement of the previous day for Armenia was made "unofficially" only.

The Lausanne correspondent of *Vakit,* a Turkish daily of Constantinople, "learned from a highly placed personage that the American Delegation, under pressure of religious organizations, may find itself in the necessity of speaking, *in a perfunctory way,* for the Armenians," and *Vakit* editorially complimented Admiral Bristol (Second American Observer) for his "unvarying efforts in behalf of the Turks," and expressed "gratitude to America for the ***benevolent*** attitude of her representatives at Lausanne."—Ed.

Telegrams to the Senators

* * *

". . . The Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church and the President of the National Council are convinced that ratification of the Lausanne Treaty now pending before the Senate will be equivalent to an approval of the monstrous wrongs inflicted by the Turkish Government upon Armenians and other Christian peoples of the East. They therefore beg that you will oppose ratification of this Treaty at this time.

(Signed) ETHELBERT TALBOT,
Presiding Bishop.

THOMAS F. GAILOR,
President of Council.

The Bishop of Pennsylvania:

"I know that I voice the opinion of many representatives when I urge you to vote against the ratification of the Lausanne Treaty. It is not to the honor of our nation to ratify such a treaty.

"At an interview with the late President Harding he told me our country would stand by the Armenians and do everything in our power to help them.

"It seems clear that at the present time we are ignoring our pledge to Armenia and abandoning those unfortunate people to the cruel fate which has been theirs under the Turkish persecution for generations in the past. In my opinion to thus desert our allies and break our pledge is indefensible."

America and Armenia

By Samuel Gompers

I am in thorough accord with the thought that the United States should do its utmost to bring about fulfilment of that portion of the Sevres treaty relating to Armenia.

Unquestionably the United States owes a moral duty to the Armenian people, who fought for and with the Allies, who suffered untold agonies in that struggle, and who were promised a national existence and the protection of civilization.

If there were no other obligation or issue than that arising out of the World War our moral duty would be clear and binding, but there is much more to the matter.

Success for the Turk at this time may, and quite likely will, mean much more than the destruction of Armenia. In the fate of Armenia at present, it seems to me, is involved the whole question of Oriental pressure against the Occidental world.

We may draw our national skirts about us and say that it is none of our business and that we can get along without meddling in the affairs of Europe and Asia, and if we are so minded we can get along for the present. That is, we can get along in a material way. Every moral delinquency, however, leaves its mark: and in addition, we cannot permit a wrong of this kind to happen anywhere without ultimately having its effects visited upon us.

We have a duty to Armenia. We also have a duty to civilization. If Armenia is left to the mercy of the Turk—and there isn't much remaining to be left to anybody's mercy—America will have, as Ambassador Gerard says, morally stultified herself.

Likewise, America will have blinked at a weakening of the bulwarks of civilization. Why is it that Bolshevist Russia is helping the Turks? For the reason that the present policy of the Turks is laid so as to play the Bolshevik game of weakening the civilized and democratic peoples of Europe.

So, whether our Government fulfils America's moral obligation or not at this moment, ultimately we shall feel the effects of the outcome of the present crisis in the Near East.

Armenia in the World War

By Herbert Adams Gibbons, Ph.D., Litt.D.

Correspondent New York Herald in Turkey, Egypt, Balkan States, France, 1908-18; Spencer Trask Lecturer, Princeton University, 1919; Author: The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire; The New Map of Europe; The New Map of Asia, and Other Books

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"Lest we forget," it is decidedly worth while to recall the services of the Armenian nation in the World War. The Armenian question has not yet been settled. It still confronts the five Principal Allied and Associated Powers in 1926 as it did in 1919, and considerations of expediency cannot hush it up. Therefore we call attention once more to a subject that is embarrassing to statesmen and that many are trying to avoid—**the indebtedness of the Allied nations to the Armenian nation in the World War.**

There is no better summary with which to start our survey than that given by Lord Robert Cecil, writing from the British Foreign Office on October 3, 1918. Lord Robert said that *"the military contributions made by the Armenians to the Allied armies most assuredly cannot be forgotten,"* and he mentioned four points which he thought *"the Armenians may well regard as the charter of their right to liberation at the hands of the Allies."* Here are Lord Robert's points:

> **"One:** In the autumn of 1914, the national Congress of the Ottoman Armenians, then sitting at Erzerum, was offered autonomy by the Turkish emissaries, if it would actively assist Turkey in the war, but it replied that while they would do their duty individually as Ottoman subjects, they could not, as a nation, work for the cause of Turkey and her allies.
>
> **"Two:** Following this courageous refusal, the Ottoman Armenians were systematically murdered by the Turkish Government in 1915, more than 700,000 people being exterminated by the most cold-blooded and fiendish methods.
>
> **"Three:** From the beginning of the war, that half of the Armenian nation under Russian sovereignty organized volunteer forces and, under their heroic leader, General Andranig, bore the brunt of some of the heaviest fighting in the Caucasian campaign.

"Four: After the Russian army's breakdown at the end of last year, these Armenian forces took over the Caucasian front and for five months delayed the Turks' advance, thus rendering important services to the British army in Mesopotamia, these operations in the Alexandropol and Erivan region being, of course, unconnected with those of Baku. Armenian soldiers are still fighting in the ranks of the allied forces in Syria. They are to be found serving alike in the British, the French, and in the American armies, and have borne their part in General Allenby's great victory in Palestine."

The British Foreign Office had cognizance of all the facts. Culled by subordinates from official reports in the War Office and the Foreign Office, Mr. Balfour had studied the military contributions of Armenians during more than four years of fighting. After the collapse of Turkey, when thoughts were directed toward the reestablishment of peace. Mr. Balfour directed Lord Robert Cecil to make the above formal statement. At the time, the British undoubtedly had in mind giving strong diplomatic support to the Armenian claims for independent nationhood and the restoration of their historic lands. That British diplomacy took another course later makes it all the more important to recall this letter of Lord Robert Cecil, and to give some of the facts that corroborate each of the points in "the charter of the Armenian right to liberation at the hands of the Allies."

Turkish Proposals to the Armenians in 1914

In August, 1914, a Turkish mission of 28 members, including Kurds, Persians, Georgians, Chechens, Lazes and Circassians, left Constantinople for the Middle East, with the purpose of arousing the peoples of that region against the Allies. This was nearly three months before Turkey entered the war. On the way, the mission stopped at Erzerum, where the Armenian Revolutionary Federation was holding its annual convention. The Turks, through Dr. Baha-Eddine Shakir, Nadji Bey and Hilmi Bey, proposed to the Federation that "if the Armenians of Turkey and of Russia made common cause with Turkey, Turkey would agree to create, with the guarantee of Germany, an autonomous Armenian state, comprising Russian Armenia and the provinces of Erzerum, Van, and Bitlis, in Turkish Armenia."

The Federation answered that Russia was already at war and that all Armenians who were Russian subjects were

naturally fighting under the flag to which they owed allegiance. Similarly, if Turkey should go to war, the Armenians who were Ottoman subjects would do their duty loyally to the country to which they owed allegiance. This reply was, of course, a refusal to urge or incite Russian Armenians against Russia; but on the other hand, let it be remembered that the Federation was giving the Turks the only assurance they had the right to demand, i. e., that Turkish subjects remain loyal.

* * *

Massacres and Deportation of Armenians in Turkey in 1915

But the Turks refused to see this honorable distinction, and to accept the pledges that must have been made with heavy heart by a subject people to its oppressors. Angered because the Turkish Armenians would not tamper with the loyalty of the Russian Armenians and smarting under the series of setbacks received on the Russian frontier (largely, as we shall see, through the devoted fighting of Russian Armenians), the Constantinople Government ordered the deportation of Armenians from Turkish Armenia and elsewhere in Asia Minor. Massacres of the most horrible character took place.

Armenian Resistance to Massacres

As the Armenians in most places had no arms there was nothing they could do. This in itself was enough to disprove the Turkish excuse that they were a military menace and had to be got out of the way. But in eight localities, where the Armenians were numerous and had the conformation of the land to help them, they mustered what arms they could and resisted heroically. **Five Turkish divisions and 30,000 or more Turkish and Kurdish irregulars were employed in putting down the "rebellion."**

At Van, for example, on April 15, 1915, a Turkish regiment, supported by irregulars, numbering, in all, 12,000 men, attacked the Armenian quarter. The Armenians improvised a force of 2,500 men, manufactured smokeless powder, cast two pieces of artillery, captured cannon and ammunition from the Turks, mined a mile-long tunnel and blew up the barracks. On May 5, after three weeks of bitter

struggle, the Armenians expelled the Turks from the city. This uprising had not been intended or planned. It was provoked by the determination of men to protect their women and children and to save themselves from being butchered, if they could help it. It helped materially the Russian plans, and the influence of this event was felt all over the eastern front.

At Suedia, Cilicia, the inhabitants of seven villages, comprising 4,058 men, women and children, defied the Turkish deportation edict, retreated to the mountain of El-Musa, and, for 53 days, in seven sanguinary battles, held at bay 15,000 Turks. On Sept. 12th, 1915, they were rescued by the French cruiser St. Joan d'Arc, which, assisted by British ships, were taken to Port Said.

At Sassoon, 10,000 mountaineers—men, women and children—from July to September, 1915, held off, with antiquated weapons, two Turkish divisions and 30,000 Kurds. When their ammunition was exhausted and the men were exterminated, their women, according to Lord Bryce, fought the Turks with knives, forks, pins, and rocks until death came to save them.

At Urfa, the Armenians resisted a Turkish Division for forty days, but finally succumbed under artillery fire. Here, in the ruins, were found the mangled bodies of women, arms in hand, side by side with those of men.

At Shabin Kara Hissar, 5,000 Armenians, for 27 days, engaged, during July, 1915, a whole Division. Here was enacted one of the most tragic, yet sublime, episodes of the war. When the ammunition gave out, 3,000 women and girls drank poison, and when the supply of poison gave out, those who were left, with hymns on their lips, hurled themselves from the mountain into the canyon to escape falling into the hands of the Turks.

We shall not comment further upon the fate of the Armenians in Turkey in 1915. All the horrible details have been given to the world over and over again. We want simply to emphasize the fact that the virtual extermination of Armenians in many regions of the Ottoman Empire were provoked by circumstances over which they had no control. Being hostages in the hands of the Turks they were victims of the Turkish wrath over setbacks on the Caucasian front that had been largely due to the skill and valor of Armenian

contingents in the Russian army. These were fighting for Russia because they were Russian subjects. It was their duty to do so. But to the Turks all Armenians were simply Armenians, and they wreaked their vengeance upon their own defenseless subjects, who had committed no overt act against them. In 1916 the Russian press published the diary found on the body of a Turkish officer. In explanation of the massacres it read: *"We are asked why we kill the Armenians. The reason is quite plain. Had not the Armenians fought against us, we would have reached Tiflis and Baku long ago."*

This is what Lord Robert meant when he said that the massacre of Armenians in Turkey was the second point in Armenia's "charter of the right to liberation at the hands of the Allies."

Nearly a million Armenians died in Turkey as the direct result of two things that were vital to the success of the Entente Powers:

(a) The refusal of Turkish Armenians to try to persuade Russian Armenians to be disloyal to Russia in return for an autonomous Armenian state, guaranteed by Germany; and

(b) The success of the Russian Armenians in preventing a Turkish victory that would have had a disastrous effect on the Entente cause.

And in the process of resisting their butchers, where they possibly could, they contributed to the Allied cause by holding up for months a number of divisions whose presence on other fronts would have helped materially against the Russians and the British.

* * *

Armenians in the Russian Army from the Beginning of the War to the Russian Debacle

All who are studying the military history of the World War, with the perspective of a decade, now realize how much more important was the Caucasus front from 1914 to 1916 than we believed it to be at the time. From the very first month of the war Russia proved herself to be weaker than had been anticipated.

Germany struck heavy blows, one after the other, freeing East Prussia of the invaders, conquering Poland, re-

lieving the pressure upon Austria-Hungary, and reducing Russia to impotence in the Balkans. A similar serious situation, which might have turned the war had it come early enough, would undoubtedly have arisen had it not been for Armenian aid in the Caucasus. We have many more facts in our possession than Lord Robert Cecil had in 1918, and consequently we are able to elaborate his third point, and give some revelations of the extent of the obligation of the Entente Powers to the Armenians in this particular field.

Russian Proposal to the Armenians

Before the entry of Turkey into the war, in October, 1914, Russia, through Count Varantzoff Dachkoff, proposed to Armenian political organizations that, if Turkey should enter the war, and if the Armenians made common cause with Russia, thereby contributing to a Russian victory over Turkey, Russia would incorporate in the peace treaty stipulations for the complete autonomy of the six Armenian vilayets (provinces) of Turkey. This indicates how vital the Russians regarded possible Armenian support to be. There would have been no serious movement of Armenians in Turkey, to the advantage of Russia, had the Turks not turned on their Armenian fellow-citizens. Armenians who were Ottoman subjects remained loyal as long as they could. They were determined to give no excuse for massacre. But when the Turks tried to exterminate them, many thousands succeeded in getting away across the mountains, and swelled the number of Armenians in the Russian army. These were already numerous, as Russia had 2,000,000 Armenian subjects, who had contributed over 160,000 regulars to the Russian army. By their knowledge of the country, by their excellent fighting qualities, especially when in the presence of an hereditary enemy, these troops really made the difference between success and failure to the Russians in the Caucasus.

Turco-German Aims in Asia Minor

In his memoirs General von Ludendorff indicates the five fixed purposes of Germany in Asia Minor, after Turkey threw in her lot with the Central Powers. These were:

(1) To expel Russia from Transcaucasia and Great Britain from Mesopotamia;

(2) To prevent the British from invading Palestine to protect the Suez Canal and cut off Egypt from contamination of a Holy War;

(3) To join hands with the Turanian-Mohammedan world on both sides of the Caspian Sea and thus have the means of carrying the torch of revolt to India;

(4) To seize the Baku oil fields, whose product was sorely needed by Germany; and to force Russia and Great Britain (and perhaps also France) to deflect from the main fronts in Europe troops to the Asia Minor front and to make necessary immobilizing large bodies of soldiers in India and Egypt.

We do not have to emphasize the far-reaching character of these designs, and what a disastrous effect success in carrying them out would have had upon the fortunes of the Entente Powers.

That the Armenians frustrated some of these designs and retarded the consummation of others, is admitted by von Ludendorff and von Sanders. Lord Robert Cecil emphasizes it in his third and fourth points. Let us go a little more into detail.

* * *

First Turkish Offensive on the Caucasus Front—1914

In 1914 the Turkish army of the Caucasus had three Corps of combat troops—the ninth, tenth, and eleventh—under the personal command of Enver Pasha, Minister of War. Enver's strategy was bold in conception. The tenth Army was to attack the Russian center at Sari Kamish, which was weakly held; the eleventh was to strike farther east toward the Persian frontier; and the ninth was to advance on the left, capture Ardahan, cut the Batum-Tiflis-Baku railway line, and thus force the Russians out of Transcaucasia.

The ninth Army easily achieved its first objective. Assisted by most of the local Moslem inhabitants, it took Ardahan. The eleventh Army, deployed on the right, in mountainous country, waited to come up on the flank, near the Persian frontier, when the main force in the center advanced. But the tenth Army, on its way from Olti to Sari-Kamish, was held up for thirty-six hours at Barduz Pass by the first Armenian battalion, under the Armenian

Colonel Keri. This delay enabled the Russians to concentrate their forces at Sari Kamish, where Enver Pasha failed utterly in his offensive. The Turks lost 30,000, largely from freezing in the snow. General Ali Ihsan Pasha and his staff were all captured, and shipped to Siberia.[1]

When Enver returned to Constantinople, he publicly announced that his failure was due to the intervention of the Armenians. It was for the purpose of arousing passion against the Armenians in Turkey that he made this admission. But Enver told the truth. The part which the Armenian volunteers played in these operations is given by the Russian generals.[2]

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[1] Gen. Ihsan Pasha, who fled from his prison camp in Siberia in November, 1915, made this statement upon the battle of Sari Kamish:

"We were advancing victoriously into the Caucasus when, with the intervention of Armenian volunteers, the Russians stiffened up their resistance. I ordered a fresh Army Corps. This was held up for nearly three days by Armenian volunteers and arrived too late to the scene of battle to save us from the terrible defeat we suffered. Had it not been for the Armenians, we would have conquered the Caucasus. We will do that yet. When we do, the Allies can't win the war . . ."—Ed.

[2] Here are literal translations of extracts from these reports:

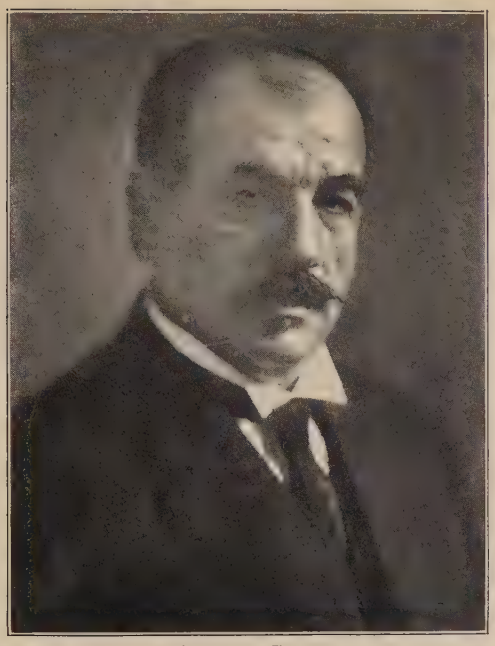
". . . **The 3rd Armenian Legion, under command of Hamazasp, from Nov. 22 to Dec. 15, 1914, took part in all the battles and distinguished itself by its signal bravery, particularly at Sangmane, Alagueze, Mirkhasane and Kapanak. On the night of Dec. 6th the Armenians opposed a determined Turkish attack and repulsed the enemy. The Armenian wounded persisted in marching in front . . .**"

(Signed) GOULIGHA, Brigadier-General.
Col. BOUKRETOFF, Chief of Staff.

". . . **The Armenian Legion faced the first Turkish attacks at Alagueze on November 9, and from 10 to 23rd December. In a fierce combat at Alagueze, which was the prelude of the operations around Sari Kamish, the Armenians engaged the enemy in a terrific hand to hand combat until the arrival of reinforcements and inflicted a cruel punishment upon him. These battles resulted in the great victory of Sari Kamish. For a period of 3 months, the 3rd Armenian Legion accomplished a heavy task full of responsibility. It protected our left flank at Sari Kamish, did reconnoisance in the most difficult and snow covered mountainous region of Palantakene, and fought, with signal bravery, side by side with the Brigades of General Gouligha, Prjevalski and Baratoff. It gives me great pleasure to thank them for their self-abnegation and for the excellent services which they rendered at Sari Kamish . . .**"

(Signed) KALITINE, Brig-Gen.,
Commander, 1st Army Corps of the Caucasus.

A Few Armenian Leaders in the World War



ARMEN GARO.

An organizer of Armenian volunteer movement. Commander, 2nd Legion. Diplomatic Representative of Armenian Republic in Washington, 1920.
Died in Geneva, 1923.

MAJOR-GEN. ANDRANIK.

Commander, 1st Legion, 1914-15. Later fought in Russian Army, with rank of Major General. Following Russia's defection, continued fighting.

MAJOR-GENERAL BAKRATUNI.

Commander, Third Russian Army, which defended Warsaw. Commander, Petrograd Military District, 1917.
Commander, Armenian forces at Baku, 1918.

BRIG-GEN. SEBOUH.

Commander of Legion until 1918. Brigadier-General in the Army of the Armenian Republic until 1921.

Second Turkish Offensive—1915

In April, 1915, the Turks tried again. This time they attempted to turn the left wing of the Russian army by violating the neutrality of Persia, marching to Julfa. They relied upon the cooperation of the local Tartars along the Azerbaidjan frontier to open the way for them to cut the Batum-Baku line east of Tiflis and march on Baku. Opposing them was only one Russian brigade under the Armenian general Nazarbekoff, and the first Armenian battalion of volunteers under Andranik. General Khalil Bey had one of the crack Turkish divisions, sent especially from Constantinople, and about 10,000 Kurds. He easily captured Urumia, took a thousand Russian prisoners, and marched on Salamast. Here Andranik fought off Khalil for three days. When Russian reinforcements arrived 3,600 Turks lay dead and wounded in front of the Armenian trenches. The part which the Armenians played, not only as volunteers, but as Russian regulars, is given in the official report of General Troukhine to the Ministry of War. We quote in part:

> **". . . the detachments of Andranik and Dro attacked vigorously the enemy positions . . . The detachment of Hamazasp attacked under most difficult conditions, without any artillery protection and in snow covered mountains, and vigorously pursued the enemy. After two days' fighting, the enemy is dislodged from his entrenched position and defeated decisively. The victory is due principally to the precise and obstinate fire of our infantry of which three-fourths are composed of Armenian detachments . . ."**

* * *

Third Turkish Offensive—1915

Once more Khalil Bey launched an offensive in July, 1915. Disposing of eleven divisions, most of them fresh troops who had not suffered a severe winter in camp, he attacked the Russian center and hurled it back 62 miles. It would have gone hard with the Russians had not the Armenian volunteers attacked Khalil's reinforcements, virtually in his rear. And then the Armenian general Nazarbekoff hurried reinforcements to the front, stopped the retreat, and the Russians began a counter-offensive. Because of the vigorous attacks of the Armenian volunteers, who threatened his line of communication, Khalil fell back. Thus

ended the last of the three principal Turkish offensives, the success of any one of which might have had a disastrous repercussion on the other Russian fronts, and, politically, at St. Petersburg.

* * *

The Turkish Campaign of 1916

Throughout this year the Turks fought, but they had given up any hope of penetrating the Caucasus. The mountains swarmed with Armenian irregulars. When the impotence of the Turks to repeat their formidable movements of 1915 was realized, the Russian general staff drew off the best regular divisions, which included large Armenian contingents, and sent them to the Galician and Polish fronts. This was possible because the Armenian volunteer legions, which were bearing the brunt of the fighting, seemed capable of preventing any further attempt at a Turkish offensive.

In his ordre du jour, dated April 15, 1916, Col. Obrastzoff, Commander of the 2nd Brigade of the 2nd Division of the Chasseurs of the Caucasus, says:

> ". . . During the assault upon the snow-covered chain of mountains around Elneff, the Armenian detachments displayed remarkable audacity. The Corps of officers particularly conducted itself with signal valor and was nearly put hors du combat. The 3rd Armenian Legion, after hand to hand fighting, captured the whole line of enemy trenches and seized their stores of ammunition . . ."

General Koulebiakine, Commander of the Russian Division, addressed the following telegram to Col. Ossepian, Commander of the 4th Armenian Legion:

> ". . . I congratulate your battalion upon its brilliant victory . . . To-day, I visited personally the inaccessible position and appreciated the task and bravery of the Armenian sharpshooters who conquered it . . ."

Ex-Premier Kerensky, on August 20, 1918, made this statement:

> ". . . At the outbreak of the War, the Turks captured Ardahan, and were marching on Tiflis. All the high officials, including the Viceroy, were preparing for a hasty flight. Of all the races of the Caucasus, the Armenians alone stuck to their

posts, organized volunteer forces and, by the side of their Russian comrades faced the formidable assaults of the enemy, and turned his victorious march into a disastrous rout."

* * *

Following the Russian Defection

After the revolution, the Kerensky Government created a special administrative body for Transcaucasia. This Commissariate lost its influence when the Bolsheviki came into power in November, 1917. It was a situation of utmost confusion that lasted for months. But the Turks and Germans, hard pressed on other fronts, or devoting their energies to other products, did not take advantage of it. Transcaucasia repudiated the Bolsheviki, and on April 22, 1918, an independent state was set up under the name of the "Federal Democratic Republic of Transcaucasia," including Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaidjan. It broke up in five weeks.[1] The Tartars were openly with the Turks; the Georgians sought German protection; and the Armenians alone resolved to remain faithful to the Allies, and to continue the war.

During December, 1917, and January, 1918, the Bolsheviki, having concluded an armistice with the Central Powers, recalled the Russian army from the Caucasus front, which had been 600 miles long, manned by 250,000 troops. Thus the four provinces of Turkish Armenia, which had been conquered by Russian and Armenian troops, had no more protection against the Turks—it was a virtual abandonment—and the 2,000,000 Armenians of Transcaucasia were exposed to a new Turkish menace.

It was the remarkable activity and courage of the Armenians, in the face of this crisis—so unexpected and so stupendous—that Lord Robert Cecil refers to at the beginning of his fourth point. The Armenians improvised a volunteer force of about 20,000 men, who were soon reinforced by several thousand Armenian regulars, who had just returned after the debacle on the Russo-German front. With these few troops the Armenians undertook to take over the whole line. Not only did they have the Turks in

[1] The Turks had violated the terms of the armistice with the Bolsheviki, and sent forward 50,000 troops, to Kars, which the President of the Transcaucasian Federation (a Georgian) ordered the Armenian commander to surrender. This led to the dissolution of the confederation that had loosely bound Georgia, Azerbaidjan, and Armenia.—Ed.

front of them, but all the Moslems behind them were hostile, and they had to fight facing both directions.

Battle of Sardarabad

In June, 1918, the Turks, who had already occupied Alexandropol, concentrated their forces around Karakliss and Sardarabad, within a few miles of Erivan, the capital of Armenia. Here a fierce battle was waged. After five days of fighting at Karakliss, the Turks left 6,000 dead and wounded on the field, and were driven back to Alexandropol. The immediate objectives of the Turks were to reach Baku, and, through the control of the Alexandropol-Tabriz line, to attack the British left flank in Mesopotamia. The Armenians retarded the attainment of the first objective, and prevented the latter.

Gen. von Ludendorff, in his memoirs, says:

> *". . . Now, (following the defection of Russia) the opportunity presented itself to harass and attack the British in Northern Persia. The Batum-Tiflis-Tabriz line rendered this plan possible. In Northern Persia, the Turks could easily establish numerical superiority over the English, arouse the population of Azerbaidjan, and thus render us invaluable service . . ."*

The Armenians, however, engaged five Turkish divisions. The Turks could not hold the Tiflis-Tabriz line and, at the same time, fight the Armenians. On the other hand, they were forced to deflect considerable forces from the Palestine front to the Caucasus, against the advice of Gen. von Sanders, German commander on that front.

Both von Ludendorff and von Sanders speak in bitter terms against Enver's pig-headedness.

"The duty of Enver was to fight the English on the Palestine front," writes von Ludendorff.

Gen. von Sanders, following Turkey's surrender, made this statement:

> ". . . The collapse of the Turkish Palestinian front was due to the fact that the Turks, against my orders and advice, sent all their available forces to the Caucasus and Azerbaidjan, where they fought the Armenians . . ."

Senator Etinenne Flandain, in the French Senate, in January, 1922, declared:

> ". . . The Armenians who fought in the Russian Army, following the accession to power of the Bolshevists and the consequent defection of Russia, continued to defend the Caucasus front, and for eight months, did not let the Germans enter Baku. According to Ludendorff, the lack of fuel supply contributed greatly toward the defeat of the German armies . . ."

On January 15, 1922, 116 members of the French Parliament—Senators and Deputies—presented a Memorandum to Premier Poincaré, in which they said in part:

> **". . . The Armenians of Russia, like those of Turkey, turned a deaf ear to the proposals made to them by Turk and Tartar leaders to hoist the flag of rebellion against Russia. More than 200,000 of them fought, with signal bravery and loyalty, in the Russian Army. Following the defection of Russia, the Armenians took over the Caucasus front and, for five months, delayed the advance of the Turks, and thus became a screen of protection for the British army in Mesopotamia. Also, the Armenians took over the defense of Baku and, for months, prevented the Germans from securing the most vital fuel supply from the oil fields of Baku for their Western armies. In fine, France cannot deny the signal bravery with which the Armenian Legion under our officers, fought on the Palestinian front."**

Armenian Republic Recognized

In the meantime the Germans had desperately endeavored to get the Turks to see that it was sheer madness to exhaust their energies to destroy the Armenians—which they had found a task beyond their power—when there were pressing needs on other fronts, and when the Germans needed so sorely the Baku oil. There was much sentiment in Germany, also, in favor of doing something to prevent the total disappearance of the Armenian nation. The battle of Sardarabad made both Turks and Armenians realize the suicidal nature of continuing to fight through the summer. The Turks were now ready to listen to German advice. An armistice was concluded between Armenia and Turkey in Batum on June 14, 1918; and five days later delegates of Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaidjan met in Constantinople, and concluded peace with Turkey, Germany, and Austria-Hungary. For Armenia—alone with no possibility of any aid reaching her—this course, after four years of honorable fighting, was the only one left open to her. It was the same

course that Rumania followed shortly afterwards. It was either peace or extinction, just as later, in December, 1920, the same alternatives confronted little Armenia when she was called upon to make peace with the Moscow Soviet.

* * *

Armenians at Baku—1918

Peace was made with the Armenian Republic—not with all the Armenians, a good many of whom were still fighting with the Allies, on other fronts. The Turks were loath to turn from the effort to crush Armenia to the more practical goal of Baku. But when they got there, they found that they still had Armenians facing them.

Beginning November, 1917, in accordance with an agreement entered into in April between the Kerensky Government and the Armenian National Council, nearly 35,000 Armenian troops from the Eastern front started out to join the Armenian Army. A number of these—about 7,000—became stranded at Baku, and the local Armenian Committee, in anticipation of a possible attack by the Turco-Tartars, held these men in readiness, under the command of the Armenian Major-General Bakratuni, formerly Commander of the Russian Third Army on the Eastern front and Chief of Staff of the Petrograd Army during the Kerensky regime.

On March 31, 1918, the Tartars, led by Turkish officers, attacked the Armenians. After a week's fighting, the Tartars suffered over 8,000 casualties, and the Armenians, 2,500, the Armenians remaining in full possession of the city. On August 17, the British landed 1,500 troops, but before that the Armenians had to wage constant battles against one Division of Turkish troops and tens of thousands of Tartars, Circassians and Mountaineers.

On September 15, 1918, 15,000 Turkish regulars, under Khalil Bey, supported by a larger number of irregulars, made a grand assault. The British withdrew and, 12 hours later, were followed by the Armenians. The Turks entered the city and massacred over 20,000 Armenian non-combatants.

Von Ludendorff, in his memoirs, after referring to the lack of fuel supply as being one of the factors for the breakdown of the Western front, makes this observation:

> **". . . We could not depend upon the Baku oil unless we took it ourselves. I cannot speak too often of the lack of fuel supply in Germany and the consequent difficulties which we suffered. Following the offensive of the 7th Army, the oil reserves of the Army became exhausted . . ."**

* * * * *

The brief account we have given, supported by statements of those whose plans were most seriously affected by the Armenian resistance, is sufficient to demonstrate the tremendous military aid brought to the Allies by the Armenians in the Caucasus. The extreme point reached by the Russian army in Asia Minor was about 220 miles beyond their frontier. The distance from the Russian frontier to Erivan, which the Russians connected by a narrow gauge with the Tiflis-Baku line, is about 50 miles. *The Russian army quit the Caucasus front in December, 1917.* It took the Turks six months, or until June, 1918, to cover the distance of 220 miles, and nine months to reach Baku. *The Armenians delayed the attainment of the chief Turkish objective—Baku—for nine months.* They were the critical months of the war. When the objective was reached, the Germans were already retreating in France, and they were forced to throw up the sponge before Baku oil could be a factor for airplanes and motor-trucks on the Western front.[1]

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[1] Col. John Price Jackson, of the Harbord Military Mission to the Near East, has recently written as follows:

> ". . . There is another phase of this subject (the Lausanne Treaty) which demands consideration and which cannot fail to touch every red-blooded American. Gen. Allenby has said that the small, ragged army of Armenians operating on the northern flank (Caucasus) of the Turkish army so worried his antagonist that he was able to cause the early capitulation of the Turkish nation. This little army fought under almost insuperable difficulties and with but meagre supplies and suffered enormous losses. If we ratify this Treaty without an amendment we, as a nation, will be turning our backs upon those in that valiant army. Further, had they not done their duty so heroically and well at a critical place and time the war would most likely have lasted another year. The result of this would have been that grave markers for five or ten Americans would now be standing overseas where one now stands and instead of a debt of twenty billions of dollars, we would now be laboring under one of twice that size . . ."

Armenians in Palestine and Syria

By an agreement entered into between France and the Armenian National Delegation in 1916, the latter furnished France 8 battalions of volunteers (5,100 men) for service in Palestine.

In a fierce assault which General Allenby made on the Turks, whose armies were commanded by Mustafa Kemal Pasha, Kutchuk Djemal Pash and Djevad Pasha, on September 19, 1918, the backbone of Turkish resistance was broken, followed by Turkey's capitulation.

The Armenians took a leading part in this victory. I shall quote from French and British sources.

On December 24, 1920, M. Bellet, in the French Chamber of Deputies, said:

> ". . . I lived in the East 25 years . . . In 1916, when M. Briand was President of the Council, it was decided to organize a Legion to fight in the East. The Legion of the Orient, which was subsequently called the "Armenian Legion" was formed of Armenian emigres in America, Egypt, and other parts of the world. They numbered 5,000 to 6,000.
>
> ". . . The Legion was formed upon the following conditions:
>
> "1. . . . To enable the Armenians to contribute toward the liberation of Cilicia, and to furnish additional rights upon which to base the realization of their national aspiration;
>
> "2. The Armenian Legion would constitute the nucleus of the Armenian Army in Cilicia.
>
> "These negotiations were conducted in London by a French representative, who was then negotiating with the British Government the accord since known as the Sykes-Picot Compact.
>
> ". . . That is why the Armenian Legion fought in Syria, and fought brilliantly . . ."

Le Temps, in its issue of October, 1918, published the following communiqué:

> "Among the troops who took an active part in the liberation of Syrian territories there is the Armenian Legion. During all the operations which have taken place during the last few weeks, these Armenian fighters have given proofs of the best military qualities and greatest merit . . ."

Captain **Gautherot**, Chief of Operations of the French Army in the Levant, in his book, *France in Syria and Cilicia* (pp. 43-44), says:

Left: An Armenian officer in the British Army.

Center: Capt. Melikian—a Sorbonne graduate. A volunteer-private in Russian Caucasus Army, 1914. Received Order of St. George, ordinarily conferred upon officers of high rank, for extraordinary valor and distinguished service; promoted. Captain in Armenian Army, 1918. Executed by Bolsheviki, in 1921, who, later, wrote a letter of apology to his parents, in Paris, for the "unfortunate mistake."

Right: Major-General Areshian, formerly of the Russian Army. General of Division in the Armenian Army, 1918.

". . . Our infantry held on to the pivotal sector of Rafat, dominated by two formidable centers of resistance, bristling with machine guns—the Mount of Arara—defended by the only 701st, 702nd and 703rd German battalions.

"The sector 26, attacked by our 4th battalion, was taken in 20 minutes; the 'Three Thickets', in 45 miuntes by the 8th battalion. The German machine gunners of Arara, supported by heavy batteries which poured an avalanche of shots, resisted longer, but, in their superb sweep, our battalions soon attained all their objectives and exceeded a few . . ."

On September 20, 1918, on the occasion of the funeral ceremonies of the Armenians, who had fallen on September 19, Col. **Romieu,** French Commander, who led his men in person, delivered this oration:

"In the name of all the Commanders, officers and men of my command, I greet our Armenians who fell in yesterday's battle.

"They all fell on this spot, where we have come to make this sad pilgrimage.

"The Armenian battalion approached the objective assigned to it by an obstinate assault; it maintained itself stubbornly under the shadow of the hills of Arara, which the Germans had converted into the most powerful point of Turkish resistance in this sector, and it was right at this point that the Turkish line of resistance was broken.

"The magnificent behavior of the battalion, notwithstanding its losses, made it possible for us to fulfill the mission which had been entrusted to us.

"The tenacity of your race, which has survived through centuries of bitter trials, has never been shown to a better advantage.

"On this sacred spot, where every movement meant death yesterday, we have the proud consolation to-day to lay in their resting places our Armenian heroes, who fell in the first line, facing the enemy. They all deserve a cross of war; they are all the patrons, the saints, of the Legion of the Orient.

"Rest in your glory. You have opened the way to Justice and to Right—long banished from these regions. We shall become worthy of you, so that this reparation may be made complete and lasting.

"I take a solemn oath upon this grave—before this cemetery, which we shall make unto a monument of glory, and which we shall hereafter name 'Cemetery of Arara,' to unite in this name the memory of our departed, of their sacrifices, of their victory, and of the horizon which it unfolds to the national aspirations of their compatriots."

When he entered Jerusalem, General **Allenby** telegraphed Boghos Nubar Pasha, President of the Armenian National Delegaion: *"I am proud to have Armenian con-*

tingents under my command. They fought brilliantly and took a leading part in the victory."

* * *

Armenians in the French Foreign Legion

When the war broke out at the beginning of August, 1914, I can think of only one Armenian student in Paris who did not immediately and unhesitatingly enlist in the French army. That boy's lame arm barred him. Of course the feeling that they must do something for France was well-nigh universal among students of all nations, and the record was a remarkable one. But the situation with the Armenians—especially of those whose families were in Turkey—was a peculiarly difficult one. There was an excuse. And yet the boys did not hesitate. Nine hundred of them enlisted in the Foreign Legion and fought on the Western front. All but 55 were killed in action, and of the survivors every one received one or more decorations for gallantry in action or distinguished service. Could there be a more wonderful record?[1]

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[1] The Chief of the Bureau of Operations of the French troops in the Levant, says of the military qualities of the Armenian:

> ". . . Undoubtedly, the men of the Armenian Legion possessed precious qualities for a soldier: intelligent, informed and often a solid citizen in civil life. He was capable of quick training and had a passion to bear arms and for military exercises. He was proud of his volunteer's uniform, and impatient to meet the Turks. In this regard he was quite the opposite of the pacific Syrian . . ." (*FRANCE IN SYRIA AND CILICIA, Capt. GAUTHEROT,* p. 135.)

Major-General Bagratuni, formerly Chief of the Russian Army Intelligence service in Turkestan, says of the Armenian soldier:

> ". . . I am acquainted with all the races and nationalities of the Near and Middle East, and can say that the Armenian makes a better soldier than the men of any race in those regions. The Turanians, the Persians, the Kurds and others have considerable power of physical endurance, but they lack the dash, the skill, the discipline and the patriotic idealism of the Armenian soldier, who is the equal of the best Aryan soldier . . ."

Also, Major-General Thompson, Chief of the British Military Mission to the Trans-Caucasus, following the defection of Russia, in a report to the War Office, extols the valor, fortitude and extraordinary power of endurance of the Armenian soldier.—Ed.

Armenia's Sacrifices and Her "Reward"

Over 200,000 Armenians fought in the World War, and suffered over 100,000 casualties. Over 1,000,000 non-combatant Armenians were slaughtered or perished from privation and disease. Seeing that there are only a little over 3,000,000 Armenians left in the world, one is safe in making the assertion that the Armenian loss of life in the World War was proportionately greater than that of any other belligerant. And it was the same with property losses, which are estimated at over $5,000,000,000. I mean billions and not millions! They lost most of their possessions in Turkey and also in Transcaucasia. None has spoken for them at any of the conferences following the war, when the question of reparations came up.

* * *

A Last Word

Is it nothing to us? Armenia lies prostrate and forsaken. Most Armenians are people without a country, suffering frightful privations and are everywhere buffeted about by the shifting winds of political upheavals. Why? Simply because we whom they trusted have betrayed them. Is it nothing to us?

Armenia, Old Turks, Young Turks

* * *

From a Report by The American Military Mission to Armenia, presented to the Senate, April 13, 1920.[1]

The Armenians were known to history under that name in the fifth century B. C., and since that period have lived in the region where their misfortunes find them today. Their country is the great rough tableland, from 3,000 to 8,000 feet above the level of the sea, of which Mount Ararat is the dominant peak. In ancient times it touched the Mediterranean, Caspian, and Black Seas. In later days it has dwindled to about 140,000 square miles, an area about as large as Montana, without political identity, but existing in 1914 in two parts, the eastern belonging to Russia, which consisted of Kars and Erivan, and some portions of the present territory of Azarbaijan: the remainder being Turkish Armenia, com-

[1] In August, 1919, an American Mission of 26 members, known as "American Military Mission to the Near East," and headed by Major General John G. Harbord, was sent by President Wilson to the Near East —Turkey, Armenia and the Russian Trans-Caucusus—with instructions to "investigate and report on political, military, geographical, administrative, economic and other considerations involved . . .", with a view to determining the proposition if whether or not America should accept a mandate in that region.

The Mission travelled, in the course of its investigation, about 10,000 miles. It made no recommendation for or against a mandate. But, it did express the opinion that if America would consider accepting a mandate in that region, such a mandate should include the whole of Turkey, except the Arabic speaking districts, and the Russian Trans-Caucusus. These territories embrace an area of about 400,000 Sq. miles, and had an estimated population of over 15,000,000,—divided into six major ethnic and linguistic groups. The Mission estimated the cost of administration of the proposed unitary mandate at $756,014,000, spread over a period of five years, and advocated the sending over of 59,000 American troops,—this number to be reduced 50 per cent., at the end of three years. No deduction of the revenues was made in the estimated cost of administration, which would equal, perhaps, the expenditures. The proposal for a unitary mandate over the whole of Turkey was submitted on behalf of the Turks, by Prof. Phillip Marshall Brown, to the Peace Conference, in February, 1919.

The territory which the Sevres Treaty subsequently allotted to Armenia has, together with Russian Armenia, an area of 66,000 Sq. miles, or less than one-sixth of the area embraced in the mandate contemplated by Gen. Harbord's report.—Ed.

prised in the Villayets of Van, Bitlis, Erzerum, Diarbekir, Kharput, and Cilicia, though Armenians were scattered more or less throughout the whole of Trans-caucasia and Asia Minor.

First Christian Nation

Armenia was an organized nation 1,000 years before there was one in Europe, except Greece and Rome. For over 12 of the 25 centuries of its history Armenia enjoyed independence within borders that shifted with the events of the times. Its last king, Leon VI., an exile from his own land, spent his last years in the effort to bring about an understanding between France and England, then in the struggle of the Hundred Years War, and actually presided at a peace conference near Boulogne in 1386, which brought about the understanding which led to the end of that war. Armenia was evangelized by Apostles fresh from the memory of our Lord, as early as 33 A. D., and as a nation adopted Christianity and founded a National Church in 301 A. D., which has outridden the storms of the centuries, and is vital today. Armenia was the first nation to officially adopt Christianity, with all that act involved in a pagan world.[1]

The first two centuries following the foundation of the church were a golden age of Armenian literature, witnessing the invention of an Armenian alphabet; the translation of the Bible into the vernacular; the thronging of Armenians to the great centers of learning at Athens, Rome, and Alex-

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[1] Founded by Apostles St. Thaddeus and St. Bartholomew, the Holy Apostolic Church of Armenia has since had, in unbroken succession, 137 Catholicos (Supreme Pontiff), whose seat, since 307, has been, with occasional transfers elsewhere, at Etch-Miadzine ("Descended from-the-Only-Begotten"), the Great Monastery at the foot of Ararat.

The Apostolic Church derives her authority, in matters of dogma, solely from the decisions of the first three Ecumenical Councils. Belief in an Almighty God, Father of us all, and in His only Son, our Lord and Master, and observance of the Golden Rule, sum up the fundamental faith and aspiration of the Apostolic Church.

Down to the 7th century the Church of Georgia and the Church of the Albans were under her jurisdiction, and in the 8th century her missionaries carried the Gospel to the very frontiers of China. To-day, all the 3,100,000 Armenians in the world, excepting about 100,000, who are affiliated with the Catholic Church or Protestant denominations, are adherents of the Mother Church.—Ed.

andria; and the development of a flexible literary language, one of the great assets of national life.[1]

By its geographical location on the great highway of invasion from east to west the ambitions of Persia, the Saracens and the rising tide of Islam, and the Crusades found Armenia the extreme frontier of Christianity in the East.[2]

Persians, Parthians, Saracens, Tartars, and Turks have exacted more martyrs from the Armenian church in proportion to its numbers than have been sacrificed by any other race.

Armenia Loses Her Independence

The last Armenian dynasty was overthrown by the Sultan of Egypt 78 years before the fall of Constantinople to Mahomet II in 1453. From that time until today the story of their martyrdom is unbroken. In the Persian, the Roman, the Byzantine, the Armenian found Aryan kinsmen and tyranny was tempered with partial autonomy. Even the Saracen was a high racial type and reciprocal adjustments had been possible. *The Turk to whom they now fell prey was a raiding nomad from central Asia. His mainsprings of action were plunder, murder, and enslavement; his methods the scimitar and the bowstring.* The Crusades were long ended. Europe busy with her own renaissance contented herself

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[1] **F. D. Lynch**, referring to the architecture of a few of the 1,001 churches and other ruins of Ani, the capital of Armenia in the 9th century, expresses the opinion that the Armenians were the originators of the Gothic style of architecture, and further says: *"These monuments of an ancient civilization leave no doubt that the Armenian people may be included in the small number of races who have shown themselves susceptible of the highest culture."*

Prof. Sdrichowsky of Vienna, at a lecture which he delivered at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, on January 26, 1922, stated that, according to latest archeological discoveries, it was an established fact that Armenia was the original home of the Gothic style of architecture, and that this style of architecture was introduced from Armenia into Europe.

[2] During the mediaeval ages, the ten harbors of the Kingdom of Lesser Armenia or Cilicia (1080-1375) were among the most renowned in the Mediterranean, and the Gulf of Alexandretta and its adjacent waters were known as the Sea of Armenia. This Kingdom became the ally and base of the Crusaders. Following the downfall of all of the five States, which the Crusaders founded in the East, Lesser Armenia, single-handed, fought and retarded the westerly advance of the Mamelukes and the Turco-Tartar, for a period of 85 years.—Ed.

with standing on the defensive against the Moslem, and the eastern Christian was forgotten. For more than three centuries the Armenian people figure little in the history of the times, though at an earlier period 16 Byzantine Emperors were of that race, and ruled the eastern Empire with distinction. Many individuals, and even colonies, however, played a part in distant lands. Europe, India, and Persia welcomed them. They were translators, bankers, scholars, artisans, artists, and traders, and even under their tyrannical masters filled posts which called for administrative ability, became ambassadors and ministers, and more than once saved a tottering throne. They carried on trades, conducted commerce, and designed and constructed palaces. Nevertheless as a race they were forbidden military service, taxed to poverty, their property confiscated at pleasure, and their women forced into the harems of the conqueror.

. . . . . .

Under Turkish Rule

Time, temperament and talent eventually brought most of the industry, finance, commerce, and much of the intellectual and administrative work of the Ottoman Empire into Armenian hands.

. . . . . .

With Armenian consciousness of their own capacity to trade, to administer, and to govern in the name of others, there came in the last quarter of the nineteenth century the opportunity to throw their weight into the scale for the reform of Turkey from within, at a time when the dismemberment of Turkey was balanced in European politics against the possibility of her self-redemption. In 1876 a constitution for Turkey was drawn up by the Armenian Krikor Odian, secretary to Midhat Pasha the reformer, and was proclaimed and almost immediately revoked by Sultan Abdul Hamid.[1]

[1] The first Armenian Revolutionary Society was formed in 1882 for the purpose of appealing to the Powers to prevail on the Sultan to execute the reform measures stipulated in the Treaty of Berlin, 1878. The Armenians did not seek the dismemberment of Turkey, but, in common with the Young Turks, fought against the tyranny of the Sultans. The great massacres and deportations, however, of 1915, convinced all the Armenians that the Young Turks were as bloodthirsty and faithless as the Old Turks and that Armenian and Turk could never live under a common rule in which the Turk had the power and opportunity to ply his trade of murder and rapine.—Ed.

From 1876 it is a story of massacre and of broken and violated guaranties.

The Russo-Turkish War ended in 1877 by the treaty of San Stefano, under which Russia was to occupy certain regions until actual reforms had taken place in Turkey. This treaty, through British jealousy of Russia, was torn up the following year and the futile treaty of Berlin substituted, asking protection but without guaranties. Meantime there had been the convention of Cyprus, by which that island passed to Great Britain, and the protection of Turkey was promised for the Armenians in return for Great Britain's agreement to come to the aid of Turkey against Russia. A collective note of the powers in 1880 was ignored by Turkey. Then followed the agreement of 1895, which was never carried out, and the restoration of the constitution of 1876 in 1908. A further agreement in 1914 was abrogated at the entrance of Turkey in the war—and the last of the series is a secret treaty of 1916 between Great Britain, France and Russia, the existence and publication of which rests on Bolshevik authority, by which Armenia was to be divided between Russia and France.

Turkish Government Organizes Massacres
Holocaust of 1915

Meanwhile there have been organized official massacres of the Armenians ordered every few years since Abdul Hamid ascended the throne. In 1895, 100,000 perished. At Van in 1908, and at Adana and elsewhere in Cilicia in 1909, over 30,000 were murdered. The last and greatest of these tragedies was in 1915. Conservative estimates place the number of Armenians in Asiatic Turkey in 1914 over 1,500,000, though some make it higher. Massacres and deportations were organized in the spring of 1915 under definite system, the soldiers going from town to town. The official reports of the Turkish Government show 1,100,000 as having been deported. Young men were first summoned to the government building in each village and then marched out and killed. The women, the old men and children were, after a few days, deported to what Talaat Pasha called "agricultural colonies," from the high, cool, breeze-swept plateau of Armenia to the malarial flats of the Euphrates and the burning sands of Syria and Arabia. The dead from this whole-

sale attempt on the race are variously estimated from 500,000 to more than a million, the usual figure being about 800,000.[1]

Young Turks' Methods of Slaughter

Driven on foot under a fierce summer sun, robbed of their clothing and such petty articles as they carried, prodded by bayonet if they lagged; starvation, typhus, and dysentery left thousands dead by the trail side. The ration was a pound of bread every alternate day, which many did not receive, and later a small daily sprinkling of meal on the palm of the outstretched hand was the only food. Many perished from thirst or were killed as they attempted to slake thirst at the crossing of running streams. Numbers were murdered by savage Kurds, against whom the Turkish soldiery afforded no protection. Little girls of 9 or 10 were sold to Kurdish brigands for a few piastres, and women were promiscuously violated. At Sivas an instance was related of a teacher in the Sivas Teachers' College, a gentle, refined Armenian girl, speaking English, knowing music, attractive by the standards of any land, who was given in enforced marriage to the

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[1] In 1914, the Armenian element in Turkey numbered 2,026,000. If we accept the highest estimate by Gen. Harbord as having been butchered by the Turks during 1915-1916, then 200,000 others must have been destroyed under the present—Kemalist—regime, since we can find no more than 1,000,000 Armenians from Turkey.

That the Turkish massacre of the Armenians was a cold-blooded, calculated plan of extermination is confirmed by official German reports.

Under date of June 7, 1915, Baron Wangenheim, German Ambassador at Constantinople, telegraphed Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg that ". . . The Government (Turkish) is really pursuing a fixed purpose of exterminating the Armenian race in Turkey." And, on July 10, 1916, his successor, Ambassador Wolff-Metternich telegraphed the Chancellor that ". . . The Turkish Government cannot be prevailed upon to abandon the execution of its plan, which is the solution of the Armenian question by the extermination of the Armenian race."

Over 80 per cent. of the Kemalists, including Kemal, Ismet, Reouf, Riza Nur, Halide Hanum, were active and some of them influential, members of the Young Turkey Party which did these things.

Dr. Riza Nur, Kemal's Commissar of Hygiene, who was Second Turkish Delegate at the Lausanne Conference, in 1915, at Trebizond, put on tenders 15,000 women and children, towed them out into the sea and dumped them overboard. The Senate is now called upon to ratify a treaty to which this "Europeanized" Turk—he is a Circassian renegade—has affixed his signature.—Ed.

beg of a neighboring Kurdish village, a filthy, ragged ruffian three times her age, with whom she still has to live, and by whom she has borne a child. In the orphanage there maintained under American relief auspices, there were 150 "brides," being girls, many of them of tender age, who had been living as wives in Moslem homes and had been rescued. Of the female refugees among some 75,000 repatriated from Syria and Mesopotamia, we were informed at Aleppo that 40 per cent are infected with venereal disease from the lives to which they have been forced. The women of this race were free from such diseases before the deportation. Mutilation, violation, torture, and death have left their haunting memories in a hundred beautiful Armenian valleys, and the traveler in that region is seldom free from the evidence of this most colossal crime of all the ages. *Yet immunity from it all might have been purchased for any Armenian girl or comely woman by abjuring her religion and turning Moslem. Surely no faith has ever been put to harder test or has been cherished at greater cost.*

. . . . . .

We estimate a total of perhaps half a million refugee Armenians as available to eventually begin life anew in a region about the size of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, to which would be added those, not refugees, who might return from other lands.

. . . . . .

Not over 20 per cent of the Turkish peasants who went to war have returned. The absence of men between the ages of 20 and 35 is very noticeable. Six hundred thousand Turkish soldiers died of typhus alone, it is stated, and insufficient hospital service and absolute poverty of supply greatly swelled the death lists.[1]

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[1] During the war Turkey put into the field about 1,200,000 men. At the conclusion of the Armistice on October 1, 1918, that number had been reduced to about 50,000. It was authoritatively reported that there were about 100,000 desertions, so that Turkey must have lost over 1,000,000 men. The Turks put their own losses, including war casualties and non-combatants, at 3,000,000. The highest pre-war estimate of the number of the Turkish element was 7,000,000. The Turkish element now numbers less than 4,000,000.—Ed.

Testimony is universal that the massacres have always been ordered from Constantinople.

. . . . . .

Meantime, the Armenian, unarmed at the time of the deportations and massacres, a brave soldier by thousands in the armies of Russia, France, and America during the war, is still unarmed in a land where every man but himself carries a rifle.

Turks Unrivalled as Persecutors

Editorial note, The New York Times, December 17, 1925.

General Laidoner, who prepared the report on recent atrocities committed by the Turks, read to the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva, weakened rather than strengthened his indictment when he said that the barbarity of the crimes just committed had been unsurpassed in history—except by the Turks themselves—since the Roman persecution of the early Christians.

That was unfair to the old Romans. They, to a degree almost unique in the world of their time or since, were tolerant of religions other than their own. They not only let people believe what they pleased but, within reason, to practice such rites as they pleased. They only demanded that for Rome's own deities all her subjects should show the conventional marks of respect.

Of real persecuting of Christians, as such, Rome did very little; she prosecuted some of them for much the same reason that "conscientious objectors" had a bad time in this country and many others during the World War. They were pacifists who set themselves against the prevailing sentiment and patriotism of their time, and a distinctly military nation found that intolerable.

There were "Christian martyrs" in Roman times and they are properly reverenced by Christians of today, but they were not massacred by Rome in multitudes, as the Turks have massacred Christians again and again. To find real persecution of Christians on a really large scale and with circumstances of barbarity equaling that of Turks one must look later to the days when Christian sects took up the task. It did not end when the Duke of Alva swore to exterminate the Dutch Protestants and the latter to the best of their ability returned the cruel favor.

It was Constantinople rather than Rome that persecuted Christions, and General Laidner should read up his history before he makes another report.

The Turks

* * * *

". . . They were upon the whole, from the black day when they first entered Europe, the one great anti-human specimen of humanity. Wherever they went, a broad line of blood marked the track behind them; and, as far as their dominion reached, civilization disappeared from view. They represented everywhere government by force as opposed to government by law. For the guide of this life they had a relentless fatalism; for its reward hereafter, a sensual paradise . . .

". . . Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner—namely, by carrying off themselves. Their Zaptiehs and their Mudirs, their Binbashis and their Yuzbashis, their Kaimakams and their Pashas,—one and all, bag and baggage,—shall, I hope, clear out from the Province they have desolated and profaned. This thorough riddance, this most blessed deliverance, is the only reparation we can make to the memory of those heaps on heaps of dead; to the violated purity alike of the matron, of maiden, and of child; to the civilization which has been affronted and shamed; to the laws of God, or, if you like, of Allah; to the moral sense of mankind at large.

"There is not a criminal in a European jail, there is not a cannibal in the South Sea Islands, whose indignation would not arise and overboil at the recital of that which has been done; which has too late been examined, but which remains unavenged; which has left behind all the foul and all the fierce passions that produced it; and which may again spring up, another murderous harvest, from the soil soaked and reeking with blood, and in the air tainted with every imaginable deed of crime and shame.

The Armenians

* * * *

"To serve Armenia is to serve civilization."

—William Ewart Gladstone.

". . . We have always been the friends of the Armenians, admiring their industry, their intellectual alertness, their keeness, their sobriety, their aptitude for education, and affairs; and we have revolted at the thought of such a people being under the yoke of the Turk.

"Now, we rejoice that the hour of liberation has come. The vain ambition of brute force has overreached itself and has resulted in the emancipation of the down-trodden and oppressed of centuries. There is to be a settlement of this long account and the credit balance is to be found in the opportunity for a free and independent life.

"There is no doubt of the capacity of the Armenians for freedom. They are as capable of self-government as any people. They have shown a racial solidarity and a capacity to survive incredible misfortunes; they have rare intelligence, and no people prize more highly the advantages of education. Even in the midst of suffering, they have proved their capacity. Despite their persecution, their ability has made them essential even to Turkish administration, and they have furnished the brains of the Ottoman Empire. All they need is a fair opportunity, that decent oppor-

"That such things should be done once is a damning disgrace to the portion of our race which did them, that a door should be left open for their ever-so-barely possible repetition would spread that shame over the whole.

"We may ransack the annals of the world; but I know not what research can furnish us with so portentous an example of the fiendish misuse of the powers established by God 'for the punishment of evildoers, and for the encouragement of them that do well.' No government ever has so sinned; none has so proved itself incorrigible in sin, or, which is the same, so impotent for reformation. If it be allowable that the executive power of Turkey should renew, at this great crisis, by permission or authority of Europe, the charter of its existence in Bulgaria, then there is not on record, since the beginning of political society, a protest that man has ever lodged against intolerable misgovernment, or a stroke he has dealt at loathsome tyranny, that ought not henceforth forward to be branded as a crime."

William Ewart Gladstone, in 1876.

* * * *

". . . The Turks to whom now they fall prey was a raiding nomad from Central Asia. His mainsprings of action were plunder, murder, and enslavement; his methods the scimitar and the bowstring . . .

"The dead from this wholesale attempt on the race (Armenian) are variously estimated from 500,000 to more than a million . . .

"Driven on foot under a fierce summer sun, robbed of their clothing and such petty articles as they carried, prodded by bayonet if they lagged; starvation, typhus and dysnetry left thousands dead by the trail side. The ration was a pound of bread every alternate day, which many did not receive, and later a tunity which only civil and religious liberty can provide.

"We propose tonight to throw such influence as we have into the scale for Armenian independence . . ."

Charles Evans Hughes, in 1918.

* * * *

"If any people have earned the right to be free and independent, masters of their own destiny and sovereigns in control of their own government, it is the Armenians. For more than two thousand years they have maintained their existence amidst difficulties and under hardships that would have crushed a weaker people into the dust. They have not only preserved their race integrity and ideals, but they have been the heralds of the democracy founded by the Nazarene. Theirs has been "a voice crying in the wilderness"—but their day is here even though the dawn of that day has been reddened by the blood which they so freely shed."

William Jennings Bryan, 1918.

* * * *

"They are physically a fine race. The men are usually tall, well built and powerful. The women have a healthy look about them which suggests good motherhood. They are an ancient people of the same Indo-European race as ourselves, and speak an allied language. During long centuries, they held their own

small daily sprinkling of meal on the palm of the outstretched hand was the only food. Many perished from thirst or were killed as they attempted to slake thirst at the crossing of running streams . . .

"Mutilation, violation, torture, and death have left their haunting memories in a hundred beautiful Armenian valleys, and the traveler in that region is seldom free from *the evidence of this most colossal crime of all the ages.*

"Yet immunity from it all might have been purchased for any Armenian girl or comely woman by adjuring her religion and turning Moslem. Surely no faith has ever been put to harder test or has been cherished at greater cost . . ."

From the Report to the President of the Harbord Mission to the Near East, 1919.

* * * *

". . . I saw no indication upon the part of Turkish officials anywhere of even a spirit of regret, much less of repentance, at what had taken place, and no genuine purpose to deal justly with the Christians . . .

"There is no possibility that the Turks can give the Armenians a government that can be acceptable; they have neither the capacity nor the inclination . . ."[1]

James L. Barton, in 1919.

* * *

". . . 'The sick man of Europe' and the 'terrible Turk' of the dark days of autocracy, who had been an 'eternal problem and source of trouble for the world', he (Turkish Ambassador to France) declared, against Persians, Arabs, Turks and Kurds. Whenever they have had a fighting chance they proved their courage . . . A large proportion of them remained tillers of the soil. In commerce they are successful not only in Turkey, but in France, England and India. Though subject to persecution for centuries under Moslem rule (because of their Christian faith, their superior intelligence, their industry and thrift), they have always managed to have their race respected."

Sir Edwin Pears, Historian, a resident of Turkey for 50 years.

* * * *

"Any one who is to some extent acquainted with the political and intellectual history of the Armenian nation, and knows with what enormous difficulties this people of an ancient civilization has had to struggle, and has especially today to contend with, will be filled with sincere respect for a people who could accomplish so much in the midst of all those tribulations."

Prof. Von Eucken, German authority on the Near East.

* * * *

"We may say without exaggeration that not only in Armenia proper, but far beyond its boundaries, the economic life of Turkey rests, in great part, upon the Armenians."

Dr. Paul Rohrback, German Orientalist.

[1] In 1919, Dr. Barton covered over 5,000 miles in Turkey, and, on June 14, made a report to the American Embassy at Constantinople, a copy of which report Secretary Lansing transmitted, on October 22, to Senator Harding, Chairman of the sub-Committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which was then holding hearings upon the Lodge-Williams Resolution, relative to Armenia.—Ed.

had passed away. Instead had come a new Turkey, with 'determination to become in European society an element of peace . . .

"The Turk, in fact, is the same trouble maker for Europe that he always was in the past. The new Turk is the same old Turk who came into Europe a conqueror five centuries ago."

From an editorial in The New York Sun, 1925.

* * * *

"The Turk remains the Turk. Having solemnly agreed that the Ecumenical Patriarch of the Greek Church should remain in Constantinople, the Turks of Angora have seized the first opportunity of violating that clause in the Treaty between the two countries. Without warning, the Patriarch has been deported, bag and baggage, across the frontier. It is all reminiscent of Abd-ul-Hamid and the days of the Yildiz Kiosk. Under the republic the Turk is the same kind of Turk he was under the empire or the Sultanates. The greatest jest of modern diplomacy was perpetrated on the day when the Turk was formally admitted to the comity of nations."

From an editorial in The N. Y. Evening Post, 1925.

* * * *

". . . I visited the Zakho and Barsini regions, where I found more than 4,000 refugees . . . suffering from disease, lack of food and lack of shelter . . .

"The tales of Turkish atrocities are very consistent in their accounts of pillage, the murder of men, women and children, and the violation of women . . ."

From a Statement by Gen. Laidener, Head of League of Nations Commission, investigating Turkish atrocities, made at Bagdad, Nov. 26, 1925. Reprinted from The New York Times.

"They not only eagerly fostered modern education among themselves and in their own country, but thousands of bright Armenian young men and women have studied in the educational centers of the world and have won distinction by the superiority of their intellect and their unconquerable desire and zeal for education. There is no race on the face of the earth more worthy, by its inheritance, its intrinsic worth, its intellectual capacity and ability, its traditional industry, its peaceful temper and spirit, its domestic hopes and purposes, of a free and independent existence. In no commercial enterprise, no form of industry, no profession, and in no institution of learning in Turkey or elsewhere do the Armenians take second place.

"It was at this race that the blow of destruction was primarily aimed by the government of Young Turks in the winter of 1914 and the spring of 1915. This historic, educated and refined people were maltreated in a thousand forms, starved and exiled. Its greatest crime is that in contact with its Turkish neighbors, it has far outstretched all the rest in enterprise and industry; and in religion it has stood firmly against the persecution of its Mohammedan over-lords, refusing to exchange Jesus Christ for Mohammed."

Dr. Barton, Secretary American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, formerly President of the Euphrates College, Armenia.

Armenia, Russia and the Lausanne Treaty

By James W. Gerard

Ex-Ambassador to Germany; Chairman, The American Committee for the Independence of Armenia, Since 1918 [a]

In March, 1925, George Tchitcherin, Soviet Foreign Commissar, made a speech at Erivan, capital of 'Soviet Armenia', upon the relations of Russia and Armenia, and dwelt at length upon the 'sinister motives' of the capitalistic nations, particularly of the United States, concerning Armenia. He stated that certain American elements, through a supposedly authorized spokesman, offered at Lausanne, in 1923, to contribute $30,000,000 toward the setting up of an Armenian State, with the "evident imperialistic purpose of establishing a foothold in the East, for the benefit of Anglo-Saxon countries," but, he complained, they declined to hand any part of this fund over to the Bolshevists to enable them to settle 250,000 Armenian refugees in Russia. He proceeded to lay all the responsibility for the plight of Armenia upon the shoulders of the capitalistic nations, and felicitated Armenia upon the 'progress' which she has achieved since "she established connection" with Soviet Russia.

But, what are the facts of the case?

In 1914, Armenia was still but a geographical expression —although, historically, the home of the Armenian race—, of which 101,000 Sq. M. was under Turkish rule (since 1451); 26,491 Sq. M., under Russian rule (1828, 1878), and 5,789 Sq. M., under Persian rule (1472).

The Armenian population of Turkey numbered something over 2,000,000, of which about 1,500,000 inhabited Turkish Armenia. The Turks, to whom M. Tchitcherin conveyed, in his speech, fraternal greetings, while in the same breath claiming to be the only true friends of the Armenian people, butchered, since 1915, one-half of their Armenian fellow-citizens; expelled from their homes over 700,000; forced into Moslem harems 100,000 or more women and children, and seized the property of their victims.

Armenia Declares Her Independence

In November, 1917, Russia, having succumbed to Bol-

[a] No two men have labored more faithfully and determinedly than Mr. Gerard and Senator King for the cause of Armenia.—Ed.

shevism, withdrew from the war, and the Russian Army of the Caucasus, numbering nearly 250,000 men, abandoned that front, and left Russian Armenia, with its 1,400,000 Armenians,—not to speak of the 600,000 others, in the adjacent regions of this Armenia—to the mercy of the Turkish Army. The chief objective of the latter was the Baku oil fields. We know, on the authority of von Ludendorff, that the lack of motor oils was one of the chief factors of the breakdown of the German Army, and that the failure of the Turks to get to Baku in time was primarily responsible. For this, we and the Allies owe an unending debt of gratitude to the Armenians.

In the midst of the chaos, caused by the rise of Bolshevism, these Armenians, according to Robert Cecil, improvised volunteer forces, fought the Turks for nearly half a year, and prevented their capture of Baku in time to exploit its oil resources, and, also, protected the flank of the British Army in Mesopotamea.

On December 30, 1917, Lenin, by a special decree, recognized the right of Armenia to independence.

Notwithstanding this fact, on March 3, 1918, at Brest-Litovsk, the Bolshevists ceded to Turkey the Department of Kars—about one-third of that Armenia whose independence they had already recognized.

However, on May 28, 1918, Russian Armenia formally proclaimed her independence, assuming the title of 'Armenian Republic', and was recognized by Germany and Turkey.

Four months later, upon the conclusion of the Armistice, the 'capitalistic' nations forced the Turks to withdraw from those portions of Armenia which the Bolshevists had surrendered at Brest-Litovsk, and Russian Armenia, in its entirety, was thus incorporated into the newly created Armenian Republic.

This Armenia had been the scene of constant warfare during the past five years, and peace was not followed by any relief from famine and disease, which took the terrible toll of 150,000 lives during the winter of 1919, and threatened the extinction of the entire population. In this crisis, President Wilson, upon the advice of The American Committee for the Independence of Armenia, sent help from the Hoover Administration. Mr. Hoover spent $12,000,000 for foodstuffs, supplementing the excellent work which was already being done by the Near East Relief.

Wilson Award to Armenia

In January and April, 1920, Armenia was recognized by the Allies and America, but in May, while she was still struggling to recover from the effects of the World War, Moscow fomented uprisings in various localities, which, however, the Armenian Government easily suppressed. Then, a month later, Turkey, at the instigation of Moscow, in accordance with an agreement between them, effected in 1919, at Samsun, and with the support of the Tartars of Azerbaidjan, made an attack, but was repulsed.

On April 25, 1920, the Allied Supreme Council, in session at San Remo, extended an invitation to President Wilson to define, as abritrator, her southwestern boundaries in the Provinces of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis (area: 54,000 Sq. M., or 54% of Turkish Armenia), which were still under Turkish control, and which, subject to the decision of the President, were to be incorporated in the Armenian Republic, thus uniting Russian Armenia with parts of Turkish Armenia. This act of the Allies was subsequently embodied in the Sevres Treaty of August 10, 1920, thus making Turkey also a party to the invitation to the President. The President rendered his award on November 22, 1920, allotting to Armenia about 40,000 Sq. miles.

Soviet-Kemalist Assault Upon Armenia

In the meantime, in August, 1920, in an effort to put an end to Bolshevist intrigues, an Armenian Mission arrived in Moscow to negotiate an agreement. One was actually drafted, whereby Russia recognized the independence and unity of Armenia, and M. Tchitcherin sent two long telegrams to the Armenian Premier, reaffirming Russia's cordial acquiescence in the independence of Armenia.

M. Tchitcherin and his associates, however, were secretly negotiating with a Kemalist Mission at Moscow at the same time.

Kemal, in accordance with his secret understanding with Moscow, and equipped with arms and munitions, chiefly supplied by Moscow, on September 22, 1920, attacked Armenia upon one side, while, simultaneously a Bolshevist force threatened her from the other, actually invading the Armenian district of Kazakh.

On October 14, Moscow, by an ultimatum, demanded (1) that Armenia offer free passage to Russian troops to join the Kemalists; (2) that she sever relations with the Allies, and (3) that she denounce the Sevres Treaty.

Regardless of the fact that she was surrounded by such enemies, deprived of all supplies and forsaken by her pretended Allies, Armenia rejected the Russian ultimatum in toto. Meanwhile, Bolshevist emissaries worked their way into the ranks of the Armenian Army, and spread reports that Kemal was supported by France and Italy, and that the salvation of Armenia was possible only through the compliance with the demands of Moscow.

These intrigues led Armenia to begin negotiations for peace in November. The Turkish draft of the Treaty reduced her area from 26,491 Sq. M. to 15,000, and her population from 2,159,000 to 1,200,000. Armenia, relying upon the solemn assurances given by Legrand, Moscow's representative at Erivan, that Russia would preserve her integrity, 'accepted' this cruel situation, and, on December 3, 1920, the Government 'withdrew' in favor of a junta designated by Moscow.

Soviet Terror in Armenia

Russia failed to fulfil her promise, which was apparently designed to oust the legitimate Government. Thereupon, the agents of Bolshevist Russia set up a reign of terror. They murdered, in the most brutal fashion, a score of Armenian leaders, and interned 2,300 others. They invited, ostensibly for a conference, the 1,600 officers of the Armenian Army to the Parliament Building, and exiled them, by forced marches, to the four corners of Russia—many falling by the wayside. They confiscated the already meager supply of food, and sent it to Russia, leaving the Armenians to starve. At the same time, her co-conspirator, the Turk, slaughtered, according to a subsequent report by a competent Commission, 30,000 men, women and children in the districts of Kars and Alexandropol, laid waste 140 towns and hamlets, and committed the usual Turkish atrocities of a nameless nature.

Armenia was given to famine and disease, and again, at the recommendation of The American Committee for the

Independence of Armenia, Mr. Hoover, supplementing the work of the Near East Relief, allotted 6,000 tons of corn for her. The 40-mile long canal, which M. Rykoff and M. Tchitcherin opened in March, was constructed by men whose pay was the corn supplied by America.

Moscow Conquers and Decimates Armenian Republic

On February 16th, 1921, two months after the Bolshevist invasion of Armenia, the people goaded to despair, rebelled and drove the Bolshevists out, and rescued 300 Armenian leaders, whose execution was set for the day following. But, a month later, a Bolshevist Army, after hard fighting, reconquered the capital, and, four months thereafter, completed the subjugation of the entire country.

Then, in March, 1921, Moscow entered into a Treaty with Kemal, whereby it ceded to Turkey a part of the Armenian Republic; two parts, to Azerbaidjan, and the remaining, it labelled 'Soviet Armenia' and annexed it to Russia. It also repudiated the Wilson award to Armenia, and proclaimed that Armenia had no case against Turkey.

In spite of these facts, Bolshevist spokesmen have the effrontery to declare that the Soviets entered Armenia to protect her against the Turks. As a commentary upon their pretensions, we may recall that, in April, 1920, the Soviets reoccupied Azerbaidjan, and in May, reconquered Georgia, neither of which was menaced by Turkey.

The so-called 'Soviet Republic of Armenia' is now one of the six 'independent' members of the new Russian Confederation, formed under the Constitution of the Soviet Republics, adopted on July 6, 1923. Armenia has the nominal right, under Article 11 of the Constitution of the Confederation, to withdraw from the Confederation at her option.

According to Ziaravoztiko, the official organ of the Communist Party in the Trans-Caucasus, there are but 1,692 communists in Armenia—and all of them imported agents of Moscow.

It is manifest that a country, where 87% of the people are tillers of the soil, and where there are no landed proprietors, no large scale industries and no social divisions, has no natural response to the propaganda of communism and no need of its panaceas.

The Lausanne Treaty

The American Committee for the Independence of Armenia stands for an independent and united Armenia, as defined by President Wilson. Its opposition to the Lausanne Treaty was based, among others, upon the ground that its ratification would constitute a repudiation of the Wilson award to Armenia.

The chief argument in favor of the Treaty was that the Allies had accepted it. But, we held that the need of the Allies to legalize their extensive territorial acquisitions from Turkey was an understandable motive, and that they were at war with Turkey and needed a new Treaty—neither of which had any bearing upon our position. We contended that the Treaty deprived us of our existing rights, Moslemized the few remaining American Missions in Turkey, discriminated against what little commerce America had with Turkey, and, further, that we would not be justified in accepting an altogether one-sided Treaty at the hands of a regime, which had abrogated an existing Treaty with us, and was flouting an arbitral award by the President of the United States.[1]

Wilson and Coolidge as Arbitrators

The President of the United States, at the invitation of the Allied Powers and of Turkey and Armenia, determined the boundary between the territories of Turkey and Armenia. The finding of the President was duly made and published and is an authenticated international record. The dignity and self-respect, as well as the prestige of the United States, require that the Kemalist Government, which seeks

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[1] The proponents of the Treaty admit that it is not a good treaty; but they contend that it offers an opportunity for future negotiations.

No continuity of relations is necessary to start negotiations with another nation toward resumption of formal relations. The time to secure concessions is before and not after concluding a treaty. If we grant the Turks recognition on their own terms, what possible reason would induce them to make any concessions to us afterward? If we must yield to them now because they will not,—if they know they can have their own way by merely refusing to yield—it is obvious that in order to secure any concession from them in the future we must make further concessions to them—perhaps, a loan.—Ed.

to be recognized as the successor of the Sultan's, shall accept and respect the findings of the President of the United States, before any treaty is ratified, or any recognition is accorded.

President Coolidge recently handed down an award, as arbitrator, in the dispute between Peru and Chile, affecting the territories of Tacna-Arica. If, in these circumstances, a revolution should be fomented in Chile for the purpose of disregarding the award, and should such revolution overthrow the Government and establish itself in a new capital, and should then send troops into Tacna-Arica and slaughter and expel the inhabitants, and thereby render the plebiscite ordered by the President nugatory and impossible, would we not consider that the prestige of America required the support of the award of her President? And if, further, this revolutionary government, in military occupation of the territories subject to the President's award and with its hands dripping with the blood of the inhabitants, should come to Washington and seek recognition as the lawful Government of Chile, would not all America, regardless of party, consider that the honor of America was involved? This case would be a parallel to that of Turkey in the Armenian matter.

American Obligations to Armenia

We have obligations to Armenia of a specific nature. During the winter of 1918-1919, when official spokesmen of France were urging the Armenians to ask France to take a mandate for certain parts of Armenia, our Delegation to the Peace Conference conveyed to the Armenians the impression that America was favorably disposed on the question of assumption of the Armenian mandate. The President was, no doubt, influenced by numerous messages, advocating the lending of American help in the setting up of an Armenian State, from representative Americans, including Messrs. Hughes, Root, Lodge, Parker, Hibben, Butler, Schurman, and others.

Our Government led the whole world to believe that it would help Armenia, and deprived her of the opportunity to look for help elsewhere. It formally requested the Allies in 1919 to defer action on the Turkish Treaty, and by that request

delayed for one and one-half years the settlement of the Turkish problem. This delay led to the divisions and cross purposes among the Allies, and made it possible for the Turks to organize resistance and to profit again by the insensate folly of the civilized world. The slaughter, at the hands of the Turks, of more than one million Armenians and Greeks, since the conclusion of the Armistice; the destruction of the independence of Armenia, and the temporary restoration of the Turks to power are the direct results of the policy of delay and procrastination which our Government imposed upon the Allies.[1]

Furthermore the United States recognized the independence of Armenia, and the Senate unanimously adopted a resolution, drafted by the then Senator Harding, commending this action of President Wilson. The President of the United States defined the boundaries of Armenia, and President Harding later formally endorsed this action of his predecessor. The acts and utterances of our officials have been unmistakably approved by our people. Twenty-five thousand ministers and priests, one hundred Bishops, Cardinal Hayes, forty-five Governors of the States of the Union and 250 College and University Presidents have commended and endorsed them.

What Does Armenia Ask of America?

What is it, then, that American friends of Armenia now ask of their Government? *They ask that the Government of*

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[1] President Wilson, in requesting the Allies to defer action on the Turkish Treaty and in defining the boundaries of Armenia, and President Harding in making specific promises in favor of Armenia, certainly acted within their constitutional authority. Manifestly, this Government is responsible for the consequences of the utterances and acts of its President, when so acting. It is evident that if such declarations and commitments can be evaded by any legal quibbles, then all accepted standards of honor among men must cease to have a meaning. The untutored laymen expects officials and those who seek office to make commitments and promises, and expects that they will carry them into effect to the extent of their ability and opportunity. The plea of avoidance which certain legal dogmatists invoke would make the Constitution a cave of adullam for dishonest and irresponsible politicians.

The vital question is neither one of law nor even one of morals. It is one of fact. That fact is that the United States *delayed for one and one-half years* the settlement of the Turkish problem. That *delay* is primarily and directly responsible for all the incidents and events which ultimately led to the Lausanne Treaty and to the present terrible plight of the Armenian people.—Ed.

the United States make the recognition of the independence and unity of Armenia, as defined by President Wilson, a condition precedent to a resumption of relations with both Turkey and Russia. They merely ask that our Government employ its moral and diplomatic influence to secure a confirmation and reaffirmation of the political and territorial rights of Armenia.

In the refunding of the Belgian debt, President Coolidge recognized our moral obligation to Belgium, arising from a commitment by the late President, and remitted interest charges, amounting to over $100,000,000. The arbitral decision of President Wilson in favor of Armenia,—an act performed within the scope of his constitutional authority —imposes upon this Government a moral obligation, at least, to see to the fulfilment of that decision.

Kemalist Turkey

Apart from the indisputably sound legal basis upon which the Wilson award rests, it also commends itself by its practical necessity and moderation.

Kemalist Turkey, with an estimated population of 5,000,000, of which, perhaps, 4,000,000 is Turkish,—has an area of 320,000 Sq. miles. Three-fourths of this vast territory is sparsely inhabited and in a state of complete desolation. Both fiscal and economic conditions in Turkey are in a hopeless chaos. As a result of the elimination of the Christians, who conducted 66% of the commerce of Turkey, and who were the principal producers as well as distributors, the revenues of the Government, according to a declaration, dated October, 1924, by the Finance Commissar, amounts to $65,000,000, of which over $25,000,000 belongs to the Administration of Public Debt (foreign creditors), and its ordinary expenditures to $150,000,000.

Fulfilment of Wilson Award Alone Can Solve the Armenian Problem

Like the proverbial dog in the manger, the Turks are occupying one-third of Russian Armenia and Wilson Armenia, with no will nor capacity to use or develop it. The pre-war population of 1,800,000 of the latter region now numbers about 200,000 of which, perhaps, 65,000 is Turkish;

while from the same region, there are 286,000 Armenian refugees in the Trans-Caucasus. While Wilson Armenia lies fallow and deserted 1,200,000 Armenians are huddled together within the reduced, land-locked and inaccessible Armenian Republic, and nearly 2,000,000 others are refugees and exiles.

Only by the union of Wilson Armenia, which is but 40% of Turkish Armenia, with the Armenian Republic (aggregate area: 66,000 Sq. M.) can we obtain adequate room for the 3,000,000 Armenians, over three-fourths of whom are farmers, and establish a viable Armenian State.

Wilson Award Still Valid

The Delegation of the Armenian Republic, which signed the Sevres Treaty and was also a party to the invitation to the President to define the boundaries of Armenia, still stands upon the award of the President. That delegation did not sign the Lausanne Treaty, which is a revision of the Sevres Treaty. In the Allied-Turkish Lausanne Treaty, the Thracian, Syrian and Mesopotamean boundaries of Turkey are defined, but the Armenian-Turkish boundaries are not defined.

The Armenians are not responsible for the Kemalist movement. On October 31, 1918, Great Britain, representing the Allies, effected an armistice with the Turks, without disarming them, and France and Italy lent them moral and material assistance to resist the enforcement of the Sevres Treaty. The Allies are estopped from claiming the abrogation of the Sevres Treaty as a basis for the abandonment of the Wilson award to Armenia.

America rejected the proffered Armenian mandate on May 24, 1920. The Sevres Treaty was signed on August 10, 1920. The Allies knew that they could not depend upon us for the enforcement of any part of that Treaty, and, with that full knowledge of our position, and in consideration of the services rendered by the Armenians in the war and in fulfilment of the solemn promises made by them to the Armenians, they provided in the Sevres Treaty for the setting up of an independent and united Armenia, and asked the

President of the United States to define the Southwestern boundaries of Armenia.

They reserved, in that Treaty, certain territorial and economic rights for themselves, and assumed certain duties, and the setting up of an Armenian State was one of the duties they assumed. The Allies cannot retain the gains under the Sevres Treaty, without discharging the duties which they assumed under that Treaty. They cannot deprive Armenia, their junior partner, of any share in the results of a common venture, and retain for themselves all the benefits accruing from that common venture. They cannot abrogate the rights of Armenia, without her consent, nor can they absolve themselves, without the acquiescence of Armenia, from the fixed responsibility which they owe her.

If the Government of the United States stood, as it should, for the fulfilment of the Wilson award, its position would be unassailable. In the matter of this award, this Government occupies, in respect of Armenia, the position of a trustee, a guardian. It cannot, in law and in morals, abandon and repudiate its ward, and follow those who have betrayed Armenia, much less, the Turks and the Bolsheviki.

Insofar as America and the Allies are concerned, the abandonment or abrogation of the Sevres Treaty cannot affect the Wilson award—because the arbitral decision of the President rests, not upon the Sevres Treaty of Aug., 1920, but upon the invitation of the Allied Supreme Council of April, 1920. The invitation of the Council and the Sevres Treaty are unrelated to and independent of each other. No condition was attached to the invitation to the President.

The Wilson Award Is Still Valid

The Democratic Platform of 1924 reaffirmed it, and many representative Americans—Republicans and Democrats—advocate it. We must hope that, President Coolidge and Secretary Kellogg, whose solicitude for the welfare of Armenia is well known, will, upon a reconsideration of the facts of the case, adhere to it.

Russia and an Independent Armenia

In considering the Russian phase of the Armenian case,

we find that there exists no argument whatever against the union of Russian with Turkish Armenia, as provided by the Wilson award.

In 1917, Russia abandoned Russian Armenia and its inhabitants, who defended it and themselves against the Turks, and set up a Government of their own and were recognized by the nations of the world, including the Soviets. Subsequently, however, the Soviets, by force and ruse, reconquered it,—although they inserted an article in their Constitution, which allows Armenia to withdraw from the Soviet Union at her option. Russia has practically no national interest in this Armenia. The Russian element numbers but 3% of its population, and it is not an economic necessity such as are Baku and Batum. Furthermore, the Armenian people have been uniformly friendly to Russia, and Russian leaders of all shades of opinion have frequently expressed themselves in favor of an independent and united Armenia.

In April, 1920, prior to the recognition by the United States of the then Armenian Republic, Boris Bakhmeteff, then Russian Ambassador at Washington, offered to advise the State Department that his Party had no objection to the recognition by the United States of the Armenian Republic as the Government of a United Armenia. Russian leaders opposed the setting up of independent States which were solely and entirely carved out of Russia, but they put the case of Armenia in the same category with that of Poland. They agreed that Russia had no objection to the creation of an independent Armenia which included the whole or an *adequate part* of Turkish Armenia, as well as Russian Armenia.

That view was clearly set forth by M. Maklakoff, Ambassador of Russia to France, in a speech which he delivered on July 4, 1921, before the Social and Political Educational Committee, Paris. He said in part:

> ". . . There are in the Trans-Caucusus seacoasts and cities, which Russia cannot abandon without endangering her own defense and interests. But, our view concerning Armenia is altogether different . . . Her case sprung from beyond the frontiers of Russia. It is her liberation from the yoke of Turkey . . . Russian Armenia is small in area, Turkish Armenia is extensive. We know that if the two Armenias are not united, Armenia remains a veritable desert. We gladly and willingly leave Russian Armenia to Greater Armenia. The case of Armenia is similar to that of Poland . . ."

The chief and determining arguments in favor of the restoration of the Armenian Republic, which Moscow has reconquered, are: The Wilson award was made to the Armenian Republic. If we accepted the absorption of that Republic by Russia, we must then abandon the Wilson award, that is, the case of Armenia against Turkey. We cannot advocate the annexation of a part of Turkish Armenia to Russia. Moreover, by a Treaty between Moscow and Angora, dated March 16, 1921, Moscow has repudiated the Wilson award and has since declared that Armenia has no case against Turkey. Apart from these sound legal reasons which argue for the restoration of the Armenian Republic—if we are to save the Wilson award,—we cannot hope to solve the problem of the refugees and exiles on the basis of the Soviet-Turkish arrangement. Manifestly, it would be unreasonable to think that any arrangement between Moscow and Angora concerning Armenia could be in the interest of the Armenian people.

With the determination of her political and territorial status, Armenia can, like other nations, enter into security agreements with her neighbors, and particularly one with Russia, based, perhaps, upon the general principles of the Platt amendment. Also, Armenia should have no difficulty in obtaining, as Austria, Hungary and other succession States have obtained, an international loan for her rehabilitation.

Secretary Colby, in his note, dated August 10, 1920, and addressed to the Italian Ambassador, defined the position of the United States Government upon this subject, as follows:

> ". . . Finally, while gladly giving recognition to the independence of Armenia, the Government of the United States has taken the position that final determination of its boundaries must not be made without Russia's cooperation and agreement. Not only is Russia concerned because a considerable part of the territory of the new State of Armenia, when it shall be defined, (since defined) formerly belonged to the Russian Empire; equally important is the fact that Armenia must have the good-will and the protective friendship of Russia if it is to remain independent and free."

Although we expect no difficulty with Russia upon this subject, we should make it clear that any treaty, between Russia and the United States, which failed to provide for the restoration of the Armenian Republic, would perforce be opposed by those who have successfully opposed the Lausanne Treaty.

What Does Armenia Ask of America?

* * *

A movement is now on foot to have the Government of the United States require, as a condition precedent to a resumption of diplomatic relations with Russia and Turkey, the restoration of the Armenian Republic and the fulfilment of the Wilson arbitral award. Any government possesses that right in international relations. It remains only to state the grounds upon which the good offices of the United States are invoked, and then to consider the necessity for, and practicability of, the proposal.

After the defection of Russia in 1917, the Armenians of Russian Armenia fought the Turks for five months and set up a Republic of their own, which was then recognized by Turkey, Germany and Russia, and, subsequently, by the nations of the world, including the United States. This Republic had an area of 26,491 Sq. miles and a population of 2,159,000, of which 60% was Armenian and 3% Russian. (Russian census.)

But, in September, 1920, Angora, with the active cooperation of Moscow, attacked the Armenian Republic, overwhelmed it in December, and seized a part of it. Thereupon, Moscow, after allotting other parts to Azerbaidjan, designated the fragment which remained as the 'Soviet Republic of Armenia,' and annexed it to Soviet Russia. This decapitated Republic has an area of 15,127 Sq. miles and a population of 1,200,000.

On April 25, 1920, the Allied Supreme Council, sitting at San Remo, extended an invitation to the President of the United States to define the boundaries between Turkey and Armenia, in the Armenian Provinces of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis. This invitation was subsequently embodied in the Sevres Treaty of August 10, 1920,—Turkey and Armenia pledging themselves to abide by his decision. The President rendered his arbitral award on November 22, 1920, allotting to the Armenian Republic 40,000 Sq. miles,—40% of what has been recognized, in four international documents, since 1878, as Armenia in Turkey.

The estimated pre-war population of 1,900,000 in this region has since been reduced to about 200,000, of which but

65,000 is Turkish, and the remainder Lazes and Kurds. From the same region there are now about 300,000 Armenian refugees in Soviet Armenia and the adjacent territory. (Kemalist Turkey has an area of 320,000 Sq. miles and an estimated population of 5,000,000, of which, perhaps, 4,000,000 is Turkish.)

Now, as to the necessity for, and practicability of, the proposal.

In addition to the 300,000 Armenian refugees from Turkey in the Trans-Caucasus, there are over 500,000 elsewhere, distributed as follows: in Turkey, 130,000; in Syria, 120,000; in Greece, 60,000; in France and Italy, 50,000; in Rumania, Bulgaria and Serbia, 99,000; scattered, 40,000, or a total of 504,000.

Senator King, who has recently returned from the Near East, (the above indicated figures are his) reports that the position of the Armenians in Turkey is perilous, and likewise that of the refugees in Syria, and that all the surviving Turkish Armenians, excepting those in France and Italy, must be rescued and given lands for their permanent home.

It may be observed that, according to a census taken in 1913, by the Armenian Deputies in the Turkish Parliament, there were then 2,026,000 Armenians in Turkey. The Harbord Military Mission (1919) estimated that from 600,000 to 800,000 Armenians were slaughtered by the Turks during the war. Then, from 200,000 to 400,000 others must have been destroyed under the present regime, since we can find to-day no more than 1,000,000 Armenians from Turkey.

In addition, there are 740,000 in Georgia and Azerbaidjan, whose position, as a result of the new spirit of nationalism in those countries, is quite precarious. There are also 390,000 in other parts of Russia, and 235,000 domiciled in other parts of the world, or a total of 3,069,000.

Thus, we are confronted with this situation: 1,200,000 Armenians in Soviet Armenia; 500,000 refugees outside Russia, and over 1,000,000 others, who must be ultimately provided with a permanent home. Where is this home to be found?

Soviet Armenia has an area of 15,127 Sq. miles. Only 23% of its lands is arable. It is almost wholly an agricul-

tural country, cut off from the sea by 250 miles of Turkish or Russian territory. It has never produced, and does now produce, the foodstuffs to sustain its own population. It has, however, considerable wasteland, which can be reclaimed; but, the urgency of the problem does not admit of the delays which are inherent in the execution of such projects, not to mention the impossibility of securing the great sums necessary.

The Nansen Mission, acting for the League of Nations, has just returned from Soviet Armenia. It has a plan, to cost $5,000,000, for the reclamation of certain areas, which can then accommodate 15,000 refugees,—a mere bagatelle.

It is obviously advisable to improve every inch of land possible in Soviet Armenia, but that should be done for the benefit of those who are already there, so that they may become self-supporting. Moreover, the removal from Greece or Syria of 15,000 or even 50,000 refugees would not solve the problem of the refugees; it would only be a sedative to the conscience of the world, and a temptation, perhaps, to relax from further efforts to solve the infinitely larger problem of the million and a half of refugees and exiles.

Besides, the Nansen Mission is at a loss as to where to get $5,000,000. Soviet Armenia is an integral part of Russia, and has no credit of its own. Soviet Russia, we are assured by M. Krassin, will gladly give its bonds or notes which, however, are not marketable.

In the light of the foregoing, all observers agree that Armenia needs more lands to accommodate her refugees and exiles, numbering 1,500,000, and that the natural and only available region is Wilson Armenia.

But, even if Turkey could be prevailed upon to withdraw, or future developments should force her to withdraw, from Wilson Armenia, how could we advocate the annexation of this Armenia to Soviet Armenia, which is an integral part of Soviet Russia? Wilson Armenia was awarded to the Armenian Republic—an independent Republic. If, therefore, we accepted the Sovietization of the Armenian Republic, the Wilson award would lapse, and the case of Armenia against Turkey would perforce be abandoned. Moreover, Russia has formally repudiated the Wilson award and has proclaimed that Armenia has no case against Turkey. This step by Russia was dictated, to be sure, by abnormal con-

ditions, which cannot long endure; nevertheless, the resultant situation and, particularly, the consideration of the obvious impossibility of any action by Russia in favor of Armenia, so long as Turco-Russian relations remain as they are, renders it necessary and proper for Armenians and their American friends to advocate the rights of Armenia.

Furthermore, any Armenia which is a constituent part of Russia would be debarred, as Soviet Armenia now is, from contracting the loans, perhaps, as much as $50,000,000, that are necessary to solve the problem of the refugees and for the rehabilitation of the prostrate and ruined lands which are left to her.

In view of the above, it is advocated that the Armenian Republic be restored, so that it may claim, as the legitimate beneficiary, the Wilson award, and be put in a position to borrow, as Greece has done, to solve its problems.

It is clear that if Russia is, as she claims, a friend of Armenia, she will put no obstacles in the path of this solution of the problem of the refugees,—a problem which Russia, herself, recognizes as being of a most urgent and frightful nature.

As for the ultimate relations between Armenia and Russia, it has been repeatedly and authoritatively stated that Armenia would be prepared to accept an arrangement substantially similar to that which exists between Cuba and America,—Armenia covenanting to refrain from entering into any agreements or treaties, inimical to Russia, and Russia, on her part, guaranteeing the independence and integrity of Armenia.

V. C.

Armenian Language and Prehistory

By Harold H. Bender, Ph.D., Litt.D., Phil.L.D.
Professor of Indo-Germanic Philology, Princeton University

To the ethnologist and the philologist no part of the world is more puzzling than Asia Minor. The woods are obscured by the trees. A peninsula, almost, an isthmus, connecting Europe and Asia, hemmed in by seas, mountains, and deserts, in contact with Greece, Egypt, Arabia, Phoenicia, Palestine, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, and the Caucasus, its long valleys have been for thousands of years great highways of migration, commerce, and conquest. One people after another has claimed its soil, resulting in an ever shifting political history, an almost hopeless mixture of races, and a babel of tongues. No other region has so often heard "the last sighs of dying peoples and their gods." [1]

To modern scholarship the picture is still a blurred and distorted one, always changing its focus. But many phases are becoming clearer, and much more light is promised for the near future, especially with recent and prospective excavations and the decipherment of languages like the Hittite, Luvian, and Lydian. Many corrections of former beliefs can already be made. Among other things, we know now whence and approximately when the Armenians came to Armenia. It is unnecessary to mention here various attempts to connect the Armenian speech with Hittite, Etruscan, or other obscure tongue. But the view that it was an Iranian dialect, closely related to the Persian, has been widely held until recently and still appears in the Standard Dictionary and other works of reference. Thus, the latest edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica assumes that the progenitors of the Armenians were of Medo-Persian race, an error that is made either more or less pardonable by the fact that the author of the article, published in 1910, died in

[1] Asia Minor is marked off from Europe by the Dardanelles—a narrow channel from one-half mile to four miles in width—a formation due, probably, to a seismic upheavel. The boundaries of Asia Minor, also known as Anatolia, are ill-defined, but, ordinarily, it is meant to include a peninsula about 700 miles long and from 350 to 700 miles wide. In its physical characteristics and climatic variations, Asia Minor is merely an extension of the European continent, and not a few geographers include it in Europe.—Ed.

1897. The assumption itself, however, was natural enough, for Armenian is heavily overcrusted by Persian influence, including loan-words even of the everyday sort, and some inflectional elements.

Armenian—An Indo-European Tongue Member of Same Family as English

But it has been thoroughly established by the German philologist, Heinrich Hübschmann, that Armenian is an Indo-European tongue, and thus belongs to the same family of languages to which English belongs; further, that it is an independent member of the family, and not an Iranian dialect.[1] Nor, of course, is it related to the language of the Turks, whose forebears came from central Asia, and who have kept themselves and their speech remarkably free from the influence of Western peoples and cultures.[2] A few Latin parallels will illustrate the Indo-European nature of Armenian. Compare Armenian *berem* "I bear" with Latin *fero; ail* "other" with *alius; araur* (*Aror*) "a plow" with *aro* "I plow"; *akn* "eye" with *oculus; malem* "I crush" with *molo* "I grind"; *lam* "I weep" with *lamentum.*

The Indo-European family is divided into two great groups of languages, a western and an eastern. The former, or *centum,* includes the Greek; Italic (Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Rumanian); Celtic (Irish, the Gaelic of Scotland, Welsh, Breton); and Germanic (German, Dutch, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Icelandic, and English). To the eastern or *satem,* group belong Indo-Iranian (Sanskrit, Avestan, Old Persian, and various later languages of India and Persia); Albanian; and Balto-Slavic (Old Church Slavonic, Great Russian, Little Russian, White Russian, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, Czecho-Slovakian, Polish; Lithuanian and Lettish). It is to this eastern, or *satem,* group that Armenian belongs, standing closest to the Albanian and the Balto-Slavic.

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[1] Hübschmann, St. Martin, Villefroi, Dore recognize the Armenian as one of the Indo-European languages that has attained the highest degree of development, by a varied and ancient intellectual culture.—Ed.

[2] The Turks, a Mongoloid people from Central Asia, established contact with the Near East in the 11th century. The Turks of Turkey are a hybrid race, composed of Yellow, Semitic, White and Black. They speak a Mongoloid dialect, profusely interwoven with Arabic and Persian, and use Arabic characters and numerals.—Ed.

In the Later Stone Age, presumably in the great plain of eastern central Europe, between the Vistula and the Volga, the Indo-Europeans dwelt as one people, or as closely connected groups of peoples, united by a more or less common manner of life and government, language, and religion. By them were laid the foundations of European civilization, and those of the Indian and Persian cultures. Before the dawn of history they began to break up into distinct groups, guided doubtless to some extent by different pursuits, cattle-raising on the plains to the east, and primitive agriculture in the river-valleys and the borders of the forests to the west. One by one, and very slowly, these groups began their migrations, that were to take them, still in early times, as far as the Atlantic in Europe and the Bay of Bengal in Asia.

The Asiatic members of the family show in their linguistic inheritance an impressive presence of words and ideas relating to cattle and an absence of agricultural words. Among the European members the situation is reversed, and we find common words for plow, harrow, furrow, seed, arable field, sickle, chaff, millstone, and the like. Although the Armenian belongs to the eastern group it shares this agricultural vocabulary of the west and thus looks to Europe as its place of origin. Its vocalism likewise is more European, at least it does not share the Indo-Iranian reduction of *a, e,* and *o* to *a*. And there are a number of other, more technical, linguistic features that show the European character of the language.

Armenians Migrated from Southeastern Europe to Asia Minor About 10th Century B. C.

These linguistic indications of European origin stand by no means alone. According to Greek tradition the Phrygians of Anatolia and other peoples whom we know to have been Indo-European crossed the Hellespont into Asia Minor from Europe, especially from Thrace, at about the dawn of history. Herodotus and Eudoxus agree in the statement that the Armenians came from Phrygia, were descendants of the Phrygians, and had much Phrygian in their language. Modern philological research has made it certain that in very early times Indo-Europeans from Europe began to penetrate into Asia Minor, but the largest migrations did not occur until the overthrow of the great Hittite empire, which dom-

inated the peninsula until the beginning of the 12th century B. C. To these migrations belonged those of the Phrygians from Thrace, a large and vaguely defined region north of Greece.

Several centuries later, the Armenians, who called themselves, at least in after-years, by the name Haikh, or Hayq, left Phrygia and, in the 7th century B. C., settled in the plateau which was first designated, in the 6th century B. C., by the old Persian cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenian kings as Armina, whence the name Armenia. In this tableland, the Ararat of the Old Testament, they found an allophylian people whom the Greeks called the Alarodians, and whose speech, as we know from numerous cuneiform inscriptions, was not Indo-European. With this people they blended and merged.

All this receives negative confirmation from Assyrian inscriptions, which clearly indicate that as late as the 8th or 9th century B. C. there were no Indo-Europeans in Armenia. But for the Thraco-Phrygian origin of the Armenians we have ample linguistic as well as historico-traditional evidence. The language of the Thracians is known from proper names and glosses, that of the Phrygians in the same way, and also from a number of inscriptions, in Greek letters, which date from before Christ. The Armenian language, however, is not known from literary sources back of 400 A. D. Indeed, classical Armenian literature is practically bounded by the 5th and 14th centuries. It is largely Christian, and consists for the most part of theological and historical translations from the Syrian and Greek.[1]

After the Armenians settled in their plateau and mingled with an alien people, began their long centuries of turbulent history. They were subjected first by the Medes and then by the Persians. Often a bone of contention, buffeted back and forth, first between Parthians and Romans, then between Persians and Byzantines, they were in large measure under Persian sovereignty down to the fall of the Sassanian dynasty in the middle of the 7th century A. D. From then on they were ruled, wholly or in part, by Arabs, kings of their own, Mongols, Persians, Turks, and Russians.

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[1] Sir Henry Norman considers the ancient, mediæval and modern Armenian literature, including works of imagination, novels, romance and poetry, in their limited form, comparable to any other literature.—Ed.

Despite all these vicissitudes, and despite a flood of loan-words from Persian, Arabic, Syriac, Greek, Caucasian, and other sources, the Armenian language still shows to-day unmistakable evidence of its Indo-European character and its European origin. As for the racial origin of the Armenians, we already know that they are a member of the white (Alpine) race, and that, like most other peoples, they are of mixed blood, in spite of their great racial and national tenacity.[1]

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[1] Prof. Bender, who is one of the world's foremost philologists, by his clear and able exposition of the parenthood of the Armenian tongue, has removed that subject from the realm of controversy. But, for the benefit of the layman, three points, perhaps, may be elaborated:

1. Armenia, in its entirety, was never subject to any one nation. Roman and Arab domination of Upper Armenia was evidenced only by the payment of tribute by Armenia to the Suzerain. Persian rule, however, was, at times, visible by presence of Persian administrators. Mongols tarried for a while in parts of western Armenia; so, also, the Kurds, who, subsequently, became the settled neighbors of the Armenians in the Central and Southern parts of the Plateau. Following the fall of the Kingdom of Ani, at the foot of Ararat, in 1080, the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, or Lesser Armenia, along the Mediterranean, was set up, which was overwhelmed by the Mamelukes of Egypt in 1375. Thereafter, parts of Armenia fell under Persian rule in 1472; under Turkish, in 1451, and under Russian, in 1828, 1878. Parts of Russian Armenia (Kara-Bagh), however, maintained, for nearly 150 years, four autonomous principalities; also, the Armenians of Zeitun (Cilicia) were not wholly conquered until 1915. According to Lord Bryce, these latter, during the 19th century, won 65 battles against the Turks (in 1896, they fought, for three months, a Turkish Army of 60,000 men under Zeki Pasha), and preserved their autonomy.

2. Classical Armenian, which syntactically follows Latin, is free from corruptions, solecisms and alien infiltrations. As for the vernacular, the Armenians of Turkey, Russia and Persia, like those of America and France, in recent years, have borrowed a number of words from the languages of their neighbors, but such peculiar words are marked and have not been engrafted upon the body of the Armenian tongue. The Armenian, like German, possesses an elastic system of compounding, and draws upon itself in coining new scientific or other words.

3. Neither habitat nor language determines race. The ethnologist determines the white race by four chief characteristics, namely, eye color, hair color, shape of skull and stature. Twenty per cent., perhaps, of Armenians have blue, gray or green eyes, and a larger percentage, light hair. (Light color alway yields to dark.) The average skull shape is brachycephalic, but the dolichocephalic is not at all uncommon. This mingling of headshapes seems to be the peculiarity confined to the white race. In stature, they are generally tall or about average height.

We possess already reliable evidence, drawn from recent archæological discoveries, and reinforced by the physical characteristics of the Armenian of to-day, that, about 2,000 years B. C. (exact date not yet ascertained) an Aryan people from the basin of the Caspian invaded the region of Van and gradually pushed its way toward the Euphrates, in the region of Harput. They called their country Ar-Meni, Ar-Mina, meaning Aryan land.

Centuries later, perhaps between the 10th and 12th Centuries B. C., a new wave of invasion, proceeding from Thrace, by a kindred people of European origin, reached Ar-Meni, and became merged with its inhabitants. These Thracians, however, in the course of their easterly movement, settled for several centuries in Northern Cilicia and Southeastern Cappadocia (present Cesarea), in the lands of the vanished Hittite Empire and of the Hads. The Armenians call themselves Hai (High), and their country Hāikh, in classical, and Hāiāsdān, in the vernacular, which appellation is believed to be derived from Had—the racial title of the inhabitants of that region. The Armenian race of to-day is a mixture of the two invading races and of the natives whom they assimilated, and is now recognized, like the Swiss, most French, South Germans, Austrians and most Greeks, as a member of the Alpine branch of the European family. *"Grant"; "Dixon"; "Boas".*

Three things, however, are obvious: that the Thracian invaders, who subsequently called themselves Haï-Armenian, imposed their own tongue upon the natives whom they assimilated; that all the natives were Aryans, but that one or more of these elements were of a darker hue than the Thracians; and, also, that these natives were culturally of a high standard. That the Armenian of to-day still retains the marked physical characteristics of the Alpine-Armenoid and that he is the peer, in intellectual capacity, of the best developed members of the white race, constitute visible proofs, within the interpretation of the Mendelian Law, of the logic of our conclusion. No voluntary crossing has taken place during the Christian era, except that in Christian countries, like Poland, Austria and Italy, and in recent years, in America, France and England, the Armenian disappears in the third generation.—Ed.

Sir Edwin **Pears:**

"They (Armenians) are physically a fine race. The men are usually tall, well built and powerful. The women have a healthy look about them which suggests good motherhood. They are an ancient people of the same Indo-European race as ourselves, and speak an allied language. During long centuries, they held their own against Persians, Arabs, Turks and Kurds. Whenever they have had a fighting chance they proved their courage. . . . A large proportion of them remained tillers of the soil. In commerce they are succesful not only in Turkey, but in France, England and India. Though subject to persecution for centuries under Moslem rule (because of their Christian faith, their superior intelligence, their industry and thrift), they have always managed to have their race respected."

Armenia and the Armenians

* * *

The Armenians, a race of the Indo-European stock, about 1,000 years B. C., left their original home in Thrace, Southeastern Europe, crossed the Bosphorous over into Bythinia, pushed Easterly into Cappadocia, and Northern Cilicia, and in about the 7th century B. C. reached the region of the mountain of Ararat, where they founded the State of Armenia. *"Herodotus"; "Plonius"; "J. De Morgan."*

King Herachia of Armenia was an ally of Nebuchadnezzar in the capture of Jerusalem 600 B. C. King Tigranes of Armenia was the ally of Cyrus the Great in the conquest of Babylonia and the consequent liberation of the Jews from 70 years' captivity 538 B. C.

Under Tigranes the Great, (fl. 1st Century B. C.) Armenia attained the height of her glory and power, and extended from the Caspian to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, from the Caucasus to the Mesopotamian plains, with an area exceeding 500,000 square miles and a population of 25,000,000. *"Langlois"; "Lanormant."*

Religion.—Armenia has the first Christian National Church in the world. Apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew preached the Gospel in Armenia. (See page 145.)

Post-Christian Period

Following her conversion to Christianity, Armenia was in continual death-grapple with the Zoroasterian Persia and the ever surging hordes of barbarians from the wilds of Asia. Armenia was the highway upon which crossed and recrossed the alien enemies of civilization—the Arab, Mongol, Tartar, Turk. The Armenians, isolated and separated from the rest of civilization, represented the West in the East and fought its first battles. And now exhausted by the swelling and pressing tide of the pagan and Moslem forces, they retreated Westerly and set up the Kingdom of Lesser Armenia, along the coast of the Mediterranean in 1080. Here they became the active allies of the Crusaders. But with the collapse of

that unfortunate movement, they fell a prey to the wrath and vengeance of the Mameluke, Sultan of Egypt. King Leon VI., after eight months' defense of Sis, his capital, laid down his arms in May, 1375, and thus ended the independence of Armenia. Armenia was eventually divided between Turkey, Russia and Persia. *"Dulaurier"; "Stubbs"; "Neumann."*

Armenians in Foreign Lands and Under Alien Rule

Nerses, the favorite of Theodora and the Commander-in-Chief of the legions of Justinian; Dadarshis, the renowned general of Darius Hystaspis; Proersios, the teacher of St. Gregory Nazianzen, of St. Basil, and of Julian the Apostate; Isaac, the Exarch of Ravenna, who held sway over Italy (625-643) were Armenians. According to Gelzer, it was during the reigns of the twelve Armenian Emperors, such as Maurice, Leo, Basil, Zemisces, and of Empress Theodora Augusta, that Byzantium reached the zenith of her glory and power.

In 1410, the Armenian nobility fought with the armies of Poland against the German invaders, and thus contributed to the victory of Grunwaldt, without which "the German deluge would have effaced Poland."

In 1683, five thousand Armenian warriors aided Sobieski in beating back the high tide of the Turk invasion from the gate of Vienna, which victory saved Europe from the threatened domination of the Turk.

In 1812 it was an Armenian General, Prince Pakraduni, that matched his skill against that of Napoleon at Moscow, and thus struck the mortal blow at the ambition of the Great Emperor.

During the Russo-Turkish war of 1877, of the dozen or more Armenian generals in the Russian army, Loris Melikoff was the Commander-in-Chief of the Caucasus forces, who subsequently became the Prime Minister of Russia and drafted her first constitution.

According to Lord Cromer, "the Armenians have attained the highest administrative ranks, and have at times

exercised a decisive influence upon the conduct of public affairs in Egypt."

The first Prime Minister of Egypt, following British occupation, was an Armenian. Lucasz, who was the Prime Minister of Hungary in 1913, was also an Armenian.

Prince Malcolm, one of the first leaders of the Persian reform movement; Aivazovsky, the greatest marine painter of the 19th century; Althen, who introduced to France the cultivation of rubic tinctorum; Manuelian, one of the foremost of the histologists of our time; the late Dr. Kassabian of Philadelphia, who was one of the leading Roentgen ray investigators in the world; the late Governor Thomas Corwin of Ohio, who also at one time became Secretary of the U. S. Treasury, belong to the Armenian race.

In Turkey, the Armenians have been one of the principal constructive forces, despite the oppressive and obstructive Turk rule, and they have, together with the Greeks, supplied the Turk with his manifold wants. Even the Turkish printing press, the Turkish grammar and the Turkish theatre owe their origin to the initiative of the Armenian. Of the 25 or more famous palaces and mosques of Constantinople all but 5 have been built, restored, or remodeled by Armenian architects.

Prof. Von Eucken, the well-known German authority on the Near East, says of them:

> "Any one who is to some extent acquainted with what the political and intellectual history of the Armenian nation, knows with what enormous difficulties this people of an ancient civilization has had to struggle, and has especially to-day to contend with, will be filled with sincere respect for a people who could accomplish so much in the midst of all those tribulations."

Madison Grant, the eminent American anthropoligist, says:

> This (Armenian) people really represents the last outpost of Europe toward the Mohammedan East and constitutes the best remaining medium through which Western ideals and culture can be introduced into Asia.

Before the Slump

Senator Lodge:

August 30, 1918

". . . I am most deeply interested in the cause of the Armenians and no one realizes more than I the importance of the services they are rendering to the cause we all have at heart. . ."

* * *

Ex-President Taft:

November 21, 1918

". . . Armenia has suffered terribly . . . The President and all the delegates from this country will be charged with the duty, under the message of January 8th, which contains the outlines of the new treaty, of doing justice to Armenia, and I think you can count on that . . . I am delighted that her future has been made secure by the results of the war, and that she will be removed from the awful hand of the Turk. . ."

* * *

Senator Lodge:

December 2, 1918

". . . I feel very strongly that the Armenians should be given their independence, as I have pointed out in my speeches on several occasions, and it is my intention to offer a resolution in the Senate in regard to it . . ."[1]

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[1] On December 10, 1918, Senator Lodge offered a Resolution in the Senate, ... expressing the hope that *"the Peace Conference will make arrangements for helping Armenia to establish an independent Republic . . ."* This Resolution was cabled to President Wilson on February 8, 1919, over the signatures of Senator Lodge, Senator Williams, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Bryan and Mr. Gerard. The President, in reply, said that it *"has struck a responsive chord in my heart. I beg to assure the Committee that I shall be as watchful as possible to do my utmost in Armenia's behalf."*

The papers published in this Chapter support Mr. Gerard's statement that America, herself, initiated the offer of help to Armenia.—Ed.

On December 10, 1918, Senator Lodge offered the following resolution in the Senate of the United States:

Resolution:

"Resolved, That in the opinion of the Senate, Armenia (including the six vilayets of Turkish Armenia and Cilicia), Russian Armenia, and the northern part of the Province of Azerbaijan, Persian Armenia, should be independent, and that it is the hope of the Senate that the peace conference will make arrangements for helping Armenia to establish an independent republic....."

* * *

Vice-President Marshall:

December 11, 1918

". . . I have read with horror the unfortunte experiences of the people of Belgium and they have touched the sympathetic cord in the heart of every American. I have also read and listened to the age-old sufferings of Armenia, culminating in the horrors of the recent war. Deeply as I sympathize with Belgium, truth and justice compel me to say that the proceedings in Belgium at the hands of the Germans were but a pink tea in comparison with the brutality and inhumanity which Armenia suffered at the hands of Turkey. Armenia cries to God for justice and sympathy. I hope that cry will not only reach the throne of the Eternal but will reach the heart of the just men who will sit at the Peace Council . . ."

* * *

Senator Thomas:

December 16, 1918

"I heartily approve of the Lodge Resolution, and of every resolution which favors Armenian independence. I not only approve it heartily but I would go further and place under Armenian subjection as many Turks as may be necessary for the reconstruction of the Armenian country.

"Of course it is impossible to compensate Armenia for the terrible butchery of her people and impossible for the Allies to retaliate in kind upon the Turks; but upon that country should be placed the burden of retribution to the full extent that retribution may be in the power of the Allies to enforce."

* * *

Senator Harding:

December 19, 1918

". . . I am glad to advise you of my friendly disposition toward the resolution offered by Senator Lodge, in favor of the independence of Armenia. . . ."

* * *

Senator Penrose:

December 23, 1918

". . . I am in hearty sympathy with the views set forth in the resolution introduced by Senator Lodge in favor of the independence of Armenia. It is needless for me to say that my sentiments are entirely in accord with the aspirations of the Armenian people . . ."

* * *

Senator Smoot:

December 22, 1918

". . . It will give me great pleasure to support the resolution offered in the Senate by Senator Lodge on December 10 favoring the independence of Armenia.

"I am aware of the horrible sufferings and brutality inflicted upon the Armenians for centuries past. I recognize now is the time that they should be given their independence. I express the sincere hope that the long-looked-for independence of that brave nation is close at hand . . ."

Senator Beckham:

December 17, 1918

". . . There has been nothing in all history to my mind that has exceeded in barbarity and inhumanity the treatment of the Armenian people by the Turks, and I feel, as I believe practically all Americans feel, that one of the important pieces of work before the Peace Conference is to make such a settlement of the Armenian question as will give to the Armenian people the fullest relization of their national aspirations, and the assurance of protection against any future injustice or barbarity at the hands of the Turks or any one else . . ."

* * *

Senator Williams:

December 30, 1918

". . . I need no argument to put me on the side of independence for Armenia and a government of the country by its own people. Their martyrdom, oppression and sufferings have long since constituted argument abundant to satisfy me. . ."

* * *

Senator Fletcher:

December 16, 1918

". . . I have always felt inclined to favor the independence of Armenia. I sincerely hope that can be accomplished . . ."

* * *

Senator Poindexter:

January 11, 1919

". . . I am unalterably in favor of establishing Armenia upon an independent basis . . ."

Senator McLean:

January 9, 1919

". . . I assure you that I shall support the Lodge Resolution in favor of the independence of Armenia . . ."

* * *

Senator Page:

January 13, 1919

". . . I beg to assure you that all of my sympathies are faborable to Armenia. She has suffered greatly and merits all praise for her heroic contribution to the cause of the Allies . . ."

* * *

Senator Capper:

July 22, 1919

". . . The acceptance by America of this mandate will give us a fine opportunity for real Christian service, —service toward a suffering people that we, as a liberty-loving people can appreciate, as can no other nation. We will do less than our duty in the reorganization of the world following the war if we do not extend, in every way we can, such temporary assistance as the Armenians, sorely-tried and long-oppressed, may need in establishing themselves as an independent and self-governing nation . . ."

* * *

Governor Norbeck:

February 4, 1919

". . . I certainly endorse your views as to the independence of Armenia, and will write to every Senator and Congressman from this State . . ."

Cardinal Gibbons:

January 13, 1919

". . . I am in sympathy with the movement looking to Armenian freedom and endorse the views of His Holiness the Pope . . ."

* * *

Oscar S. Straus:

December 13, 1918

". . . One of the important reasons for which America went into the war was to make democracy safe . . .

"Turkey has shown her inability to rule her own people, and certainly not other nationalities that have come under her bloody yoke . . .

"Armenia should and must be free, and she should have her ancient country . . ."

* * *

James L. Barton:

November 28, 1918

"I believe Armenians should be given their independence within the boundaries of their historic kingdom, including Russian and Turkish Armenia and Cilicia. This land belongs to Armenians by right of occupancy for centuries, and they now constitute the only people there morally and intellectually capable of self-government and with capacity to develop to the full the resources of the country."

* * *

Dr. Butler:

January 2, 1919

". . . The sorrows and sufferings of the Armenians have touched me very deeply for many years past, and I

rejoice beyond expression that the day has now dawned when there is an excellent prospect of their attaining not only freedom, but national independence . . ."

* * *

Dr. Schurman:

January 1, 1919

"*Mr. Balfour's declaration that 'the full liberation of Armenia is one of the war aims of the Allied Powers' accords with my own views. I hope that the new year upon which we are to-day entering may bring her the security, liberty and independence for which she has so long yearned . . .*"

* * *

A cablegram to President **Wilson**, Paris:

"The American Committee For The Independence Of Armenia, gathered to voice America's deep interest in the welfare of Armenia, at a Banquet held at Hotel Plaza, New York City, on February eighth, Nineteen Nineteen, after having heard The Hon. Charles Evans Hughes, The Hon. William Jennings Bryan and The Hon. James W. Gerard, unanimously adopted the following Resolution:

"RESOLVED, That in the opinion of the American Committee For The Independence Of Armenia, Armenia (including the six Vilayets in Turkish Armenia and Cilicia), Russian Armenia and Persian Armenia, should be constituted into a separate and independent State, and that it is the earnest hope of this Committee that the Peace Conference may make requisite arrangements for helping Armenia to establish an independent Republic."

* * *

President Wilson:

February 24, 1919, at Mechanics Hall, Boston

"*Have you thought of the sufferings of Armenia? You poured out your money to help succor the Armenians after they suffered; now set your strength so that they shall never suffer again.*"

A Petition

By 25,000 Ministers, Rectors and Priests

To His Excellency

WOODROW WILSON
President of the United States of America
Washington, D. C.

"We, the undersigned, servants of Christ, representing all the denominations of the Protestant Church and the Holy Catholic Church in the United States of America, and heartily sympathizing with the aspirations of the Armenian people and speaking for them and for the Christian people of America, ask you respectfully to do your utmost to secure and insure the independence of Armenia, including the six Vilayets, Cilicia and the littoral of Trebizond in Turkish Armenia, Russian Armenia and Persian Armenia; to exert your great influence to the end that the Peace Conference may make requisite arrangements for helping Armenia to establish an independent Republic, and to obtain adequate reparation for the terrible losses the Armenian people have suffered during the War."

Presented to the President on March 3, 1919.

* * *

Two other Petitions, substantially similar to the above, and signed by 100 Bishops, 45 Governors of the States of the Union, and 250 College and University Presidents, were presented to the President on March 3, 1919.

* * *

From a **Memorandum,** dated December 18, 1919.

To the President:

". . . Representative American opinion has already expressed itself with convincing emphasis in favor of

the creation of an Armenian State that will unite Ararat with Cilicia and which alone can become an effective barrier against the Pan-Turanian ambition of the Turks of Anatolia. We believe the American people will gladly sanction America's extending necessary aid to Armenia during her formative period.

"We, therefore, respectfully ask that the Administration declare itself in favor of America's extending direct aid to Armenia; to that end, formulate a definite, continuing policy, and, as a preliminary step in that direction, recognize at once the Armenian Republic.[1] . . ."

(Signed) James W. Gerard
Charles Evans Hughes
Alton B. Parker
Elihu Root
Frederic Courtland Penfield
Nicholas Murray Butler
Jacob Gould Schurman
John Grier Hibben
Phillip N. Rhinelander
Bradley A. Fiske

[1] Senator Lodge, by a separate letter, gave his adhesion to this Memorandum, and offered to sponsor in the Senate any recommendation or recommendations that the President might make along the lines advocated therein.

There never was any question about the willingness of Republican and Democratic leaders to help Armenia. President Wilson, Senator Harding and Senator Lodge made that fact clear beyond the shadow of a doubt. The only cleavage of opinion was over the method and form of help.

The question of America's adherence to the League of Nations was still being debated, and no one knew the outcome of the controversy. On the other hand, the situation in Armenia was desperate and immediate remedial action was imperative.

In view of these conditions, and in response to an intimation that the President, because of the hostility of Republican leaders, was at a loss as to what he could do, after extended and careful deliberation, the Memorandum was agreed upon by those who subscribed to it.

Nothing further need be said at this time, except that the delay of one and one-half years which America imposed upon the Allies in settling the Turkish problem has been the primary cause of the tragedy of Armenia.—Ed.

A telegram to President **Wilson,** dated June 17, 1920:

". . . in view of the gravity of the Armenian situation, either the Allies or America, or both, should at once send to Erivan and Adana foods, munitions and supplies for an Armenian Army of 50,000 men, and that America invite the Allies to join it in sending one battalion of troops each to Northern and Cilician Armenia."

(Signed) CHARLES W. ELIOT
ALTON B. PARKER
JAMES W. WADSWORTH
JAMES W. GERARD
LYMAN ABBOTT
BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER
FREDERIC COURTLAND PENFIELD

* * *

From a Memorandum to President **Harding,** dated January 6, 1923:

". . . the United States do not resume relations with Turkey, or permit its nationals to advance any financial aid to Turkey, until the Turkish Government shall have recognized the right of the Armenian people to an independent national existence. . . ."

(Signed) ARCHBISHOP HAYES
BISHOP MANNING
RABBI WISE
JAMES ROWLAND ANGELL
JOHN W. DAVIS
ABRAM I. ELKUS
HAMILTON FISH
LINDLEY M. GARRISON
JAMES W. GERARD
SAMUEL GOMPERS
JOHN GRIER HIBBEN
HAMILTON HOLT
EDWARD M. HOUSE

Henry W. Jessup
Robert Underwood Johnson
Dr. Leinbach
Charles H. MacFarland
John R. Mott
Frank A. Munsey
Morgan J. O'Brien
Alton B. Parker
James B. Reynolds
Franklin D. Roosevelt
Henry L. Stimson
Henry L. Stoddard
Dr. Stires
Henry Van Dyke
Benjamin Ide Wheeler
Everett P. Wheeler
Stanley White
Geo. W. Wickersham
Louis Wiley

and THEN

The Lausanne Treaty

Pledges and Declarations by Spokesmen for the Allied and Associated Nations in Favor of the Independence of Armenia

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Premier **Briand,** on behalf of the Allies, by a note dated January 10, 1917, delivered to the American Ambassador, stated as one of the objects of the war:

> "Liberation of the populations subject to the bloody tyranny of the Turks; expulsion of the Ottoman Empire from Europe, as foreign to Western civilization."

* * *

M. **Deschanel,** President of the Chamber of Deputies, later President of France, by a letter, dated December 19, 1917:

> "The Armenians ought to have absolute confidence. Their glorious history has been one of long martyrdom. Tomorrow, Armenia, victim of Turkish oppression, will celebrate her liberation . . . ."

* * *

M. **Pichon,** Foreign Minister, in the Chamber of Deputies, on December 27, 1917:

> ". . . . The Allies, in their reply of January 10, 1917, to President Wilson, stated that it was far from their purpose to annex or incorporate alien territories. . . . The policy of the rights of nationalities is the honor of our traditions and history. . . . and it applies to the Armenians . . . ."[1]

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[1]In January, 1918, M. Nubar, President of the Armenian National Delegation, Paris, at the personal request of M. Pichon, sent a cypher telegram, through the French Consul at Tiflis, to the President of the Armenian National Council, inviting the Armenians to go on with the war—following the defection of Russia. The President of the Council, in reply, asked for material allied assistance, recognition of the independence of Armenia and abrogation of the Allied secret pact, partitioning Armenia. M. Nubar, again by a cypher telegram, through the French Consul,—apparently in behalf of M. Pichon—gave him definite assurances as to all the three points.—Ed.

Mr. **Balfour,** in the House of Commons, on November 6, 1917:

". . . . Can we allow Armenia to be put back under the yoke of the Turk? We do not wish to disturb any regions, inhabited by Turks, governed by Turks, for the Turks, in a manner that suits the Turks. But it is our fixed purpose to liberate from Turkish rule the non-Turkish races . . . ."

* * *

Mr. **Lloyd George,** in the House of Commons, on December 21, 1917:

". . . . Some say that the Government has not fully stated the objects of the war . . . . I stated them quite clearly at Glasgow . . . .

"In the second place, the question of Mesopotamia must be resolved by the Peace Conference, with the clear understanding, however, that neither that region, nor Armenia, can ever be put back under the blighting domination of the Turks . . . ."

* * *

Mr. **Lloyd George,** before the Congress of Trades Union, on January 5, 1918:

". . . . We do not question the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire in the regions inhabited by Turks . . . .

"We insist, however, that Armenia, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine have the right to a separate national existence. . . ."

* * *

President **Wilson's** XIIth point, announced by him, at a joint session of Congress, on January 8, 1918, reads:

"The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development . . . ."

* * *

Mr. **Balfour,** replying to an interpellation by Mr. Ramsay **MacDonald,** in the House of Commons, on July 11th, 1918, said:

"His Majesty's Government is following with earnest sympathy and admiration the gallant resistance of the Armenians [in the Caucasus] in defence of their liberties and honor. I would refer the Honorable Member to the public statements made by leading statesmen among the Allied Powers in favor of a settlement [of the Armenian Case] upon the principle of self-determination."

M. **Clemenceau,** by a letter, dated July 14, 1918, and addressed to the Armenian National Delegation, Paris, said:

"France, the victim of the most unjust of aggressions, has included in her peace terms the liberation of oppressed nations.

"The spirit of self-abnegation of the Armenians, their loyalty towards the Allies, their contributions to the Foreign Legion, to the Caucasian front, and to the Oriental Legion have strengthened the ties that connect them with France.

"I am happy to confirm to you that the government of the Republic, like that of Great Britain, has not ceased to place the Armenian nation among the peoples whose fate the Allies intend to settle according to the supreme laws of Humanity and Justice."

* * *

Mr. **Lloyd George,** in Manchester, on August 17, 1918, in reply to a Memorial by the Armenian colony, said:

". . . . The spirit of confidence which animates your words demonstrates forcibly the invincible resolution of your nation. Armenia challenges sympathy and her appeal is irresistible. . . .

"But that which commands to her cause the unreserved support of those who are fighting for the liberties of mankind is the resolute determination of her sons to attain their purpose. . . .

"I ask you to believe that the Government of Great Britain is conscious of its responsibility to Armenia. . . ."

* * *

Baron **Sonnino,** Foreign Minister, by a letter, dated October 13, 1918, to the President of the Armenian National Delegation:

". . . . I desire to assure your Excellency that the Royal Government will address itself, with the most sincere solicitude, to the task of safeguarding the interests of Armenia (in the terms of the Armistice).

"I beg your Excellency to believe that the cause of Armenia commands the deepest sympathy of the Royal Government and of the Italian people. . . ."

* * *

Lord **Crawford,** in the House of Lords, on November 13, 1918, on behalf of the Government:

". . . I am happy to avail myself of this opportunity to assure you that His Majesty's Government . . . . are determined to spare no efforts to secure full satisfaction to the legitimate rights of the Armenians. . . ."

Lord **Robert Cecil** (Viscount Cecil of Chelwood), Under-Secretary of State, in the House of Commons, on November 18, 1918, on behalf of the Government:

". . . . As to the extension of the frontiers of the present Government of Armenia (the Armenian Republic), we will not permit the Turks, by their misdeeds, to abate the heritage of the Armenians. There must not be any division of Armenia. It must be treated as an indivisible entity . . . .

"My honorable Colleague (Donegal) asked me, if the Government, having already declared that Armenia shall be freed from Turkish tyranny, had any mental reservation—that is to say, if the Government would tolerate the Turks to govern Armenia, without oppressing Armenia. I think, I can say for the Government that I would be most deeply disappointed if even a shadow or an atom of Turkish rule should be allowed in Armenia . . . ."

* * *

Signor **Luzzati**, in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, on November 20, 1918:

". . . . I express full confidence that the Government, faithful to national traditions and mindful of historic ties, will stand for the independence of Armenia. . . .

"Gladstone, who felt the sufferings of the oppressed peoples, denounced, in the strongest terms, the oppressors of Armenia, and, on his death bed, commended her sacred cause to all liberty loving men. . . .

"I would be happy, if the time permitted, to speak of the Armenian volunteers, who fought on the side of the Allies, in the Caucasus and Palestine, and who performed such valorous deeds as to merit commendation in the British House of Commons.

". . . . The initiative for the redemption of Armenia should be taken by Italy. Following the teachings of Mazzini, of the Royal liberators of the House of Savoy, of Cavour, of Garibaldi, Italy never became infected with the selfish and narrow spirit of nationalism, but, having suffered in quest of her own proper independence, she now desires the independence of subject nations.

"Haud ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco.[1]

". . . My Italian heart leaped for joy when the Premier, to whom I carried, a few days ago, a message from the Italy-Armenia Society, said to me: 'Say to the Armenians that I make their cause my cause.'

"Italy, liberator of Armenia.—that is the insignia of honor I wish for my country."

[1] "Having known misfortune, I know how to help the unfortunate."—Virgile. (Eneside)

Premier **Orlando**, in reply to Signor Luzzati's speech, said:

"He who has a great soul and who is also a great negotiator, by repeating my statement to the Chamber, in my presence, proposes to convert it into an engagement made before the Parliament. I am agreeable; I stand by that engagement."

* * *

Baron **Sonino**, Italian Foreign Minister, on February 8, 1919, cabled Mr. **Gerard**, Chairman, The American Committee for the Independence of Armenia:

"I am very happy of the occasion offered me to express once more the sentiments of heartfelt sympathy with which the Royal Government follows the constant and noble efforts of Armenia for her independence and unity."

* * *

M. **Raymond Poincare**, President of France, by a letter dated February 16, 1919, and addressed to Monseigneur **Paul Pierre**, Armenian Archbishop of Cilicia, said:

". . . . As France never doubted Armenia, so Armenia never doubted France; and, after having borne together common tribulations and sufferings for the triumph of Right and Justice in the world, the two friendly countries may now commune with each other with a common joy and common pride. The government of the Republic does not consider that it has already accomplished the task that devolves upon it with regard to the Armenian people. It knows full well that Armenia, and particularly noble Cilicia, expect it to help them so that it may be possible for them to enjoy in security the benefits of peace and liberty. I may assure your Beatitude that France shall respond to the faith that has been reposed in her."

* * *

M. **Clemenceau**, on June 25, 1919, on behalf of the Council of Ten, delivered a replying Memorandum to the Turkish Delegation, which reads, in part, as follows:

"In your recital of the political intrigues which accompanied Turkey's entry into the war and of the tragedies which followed it, your Excellency makes no attempt to excuse or qualify the crimes of which the Turkish Government was then guilty. It is admitted that Turkey had no cause of quarrel with the Entente Powers, that the war, begun without excuse and conducted without mercy, was accompanied by massacres whose calculated atrocity equals or exceeds anything in recorded history.

"But it is argued that these crimes were committed by a Turkish Government for whose misdeeds the Turkish people were not responsible.

"The council can neither accept this conclusion nor the arguments by which it is supported. . . .

"Speaking generally, a nation must be judged by the government which rules it, which directs its foreign policy, which controls its armies. Nor can Turkey claim any relief from the legitimate consequences of this doctrine merely because her affairs, at a most critical moment in her history, had fallen into the hands of men who, utterly devoid of the principle of pity, could not even command success. . . .

"History tells us of many Turkish successes and of many Turkish defeats—of nations conquered and nations freed.

"Yet in all these changes there is no case to be found, either in Europe, or Asia, or Africa, in which the establishment of Turkish rule in any country has not been followed by a diminution of material prosperity and a fall in the level of culture. Nor is there any case to be found in which the withdrawal of Turkish rules has not been followed by a growth in material prosperity and a rise in the level of culture.

"Neither among the Christians of Europe, nor among the Moslems of Syria, Arabia and Africa has the Turk done other than destroy wherever he has conquered. Never has he shown himself able to develop in peace what he has won by war.

"The obvious conclusion from these facts would seem to be that, since Turkey has, without the least excuse or provocation, deliberately attacked the Entente Powers and been defeated, she has thrown upon the victors the heavy duty of determining the destiny of the various populations in her heterogeneous empire. This duty the council of the principel Allied and Associated Powers desire to carry out as far as may be in accordance with the wishes and permanent interests of the populations themselves. . . ."

* * *

M. **Pichon,** by a letter dated July 17, 1919, to M. **Albert Thomas:**

". . . . The creation of the Legion of the Orient (composed largely of Armenian volunteers), has been a notice to the world that France recognizes the Armenians as one of the Allies . . . ."

* * *

M. **Millerand,** Premier, at Spa, on July 16, 1920, on behalf of the Allies, in reply to Turkish counter-proposals:

". . . . The Allies see clearly that the time has come to put an end to Turkish domination over other races. During the past twenty

years, Armenians have been massacred with unexampled brutality. During the war, the exploits of the Turkish Government, in massacres, depotations and bad treatment of prisoners of war, exceeded in ferocity its former misdeeds. Not only has the Government failed to protect its subjects against murder and pillage, but it itself has organized and perpetrated these outrages. The Allies are determined to liberate from Turkish rule the regions inhabited by non-Turks . . . ."

* * *

M. **Briand,** in the Chamber of Deputies, in July, 1921, said:

". . . .During the war, France decided to occupy Syria and Cilicia, as the only means of securing the protection of the Christians, particularly of the Armenians. For that reason, many Armenian-Americans responded to the call of our representatives in America, and many of them came to Europe at their own expense, to join our 'Oriental Legion.' When, about a month and a half ago, we informed the British Government of our intention to withdraw from Cilicia, that Government objected. We understand that those Armenian-Americans, who fought in the Oriental Legion, have addressed themselves to the American Government, and asked that Government to remind France of the necessity of fulfilling the promises made by France to the Armenians of Cicilia. France shall fulfill her international duties not only to satisfy her Allies, but also her Associate—the United States. . . ."[1]

"English friends of America trust that, American public opinion, recognizing the splendid services rendered by Armenian soldiers in the war, will heartily support Armenia's claim to complete deliverance from Turkish rule and its own national independence."

—Viscount Bryce, on December 19, 1918.

[1] The majority of the above statements, including those by Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Robert Cecil and one by Mr. Balfour, have been translated from French.—Ed.

Armenia and the Allies

In the agreement of armistice, signed on October 30, 1918, between the Allies and Turkey, the Allies reserved to themselves the right to occupy any or all of the "SIX ARMENIAN VILAYETS," in the event of any disorders taking place in them, which Vilayets comprise an area of 96,000 square miles. But, by the Treaty of Sevres, the Allies allotted to Armenia only parts of FOUR VILAYETS, which comprise an area of about 40,000 square miles.

* * *

In January and April, 1920, the Allies and the United States recognized the Armenian Republic as an independent State.

Armenia and the Sevres Treaty

August 10, 1920.

SECTION VI.—*Armenia*

Article 88.—Turkey recognizes Armenia, as already recognized by the Allied Powers, as a free and independent State.

Article 89.—Turkey and Armenia, as well as the other High Contracting Parties, agree to submit to the arbitration of the President of the United States the determination of the boundary between Turkey and Armenia, in the Provinces of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and to accept his decision, as well as other conditions that may be prescribed by him relative to the access of Armenia to the sea and relative to the demilitarization of the Ottoman territory adjacent to the said boundary.

On March 12, 1921, Mr. Lloyd George on behalf of the Allied Premiers, in session in London, delivered to the Turkish Delegates from Constantinople and Angora, thirteen proposals, as a basis of the revision of the Sevres Treaty, of which proposal No. 11 refers to Armenia, and reads as follows:

> "Turkey to recognize the rights of Turkish Armenians to a national Home on the eastern frontiers of Turkey in Asia, delimitation of the frontiers to be decided by a commission appointed by the Council of the League of Nations."

On March 27, 1922, the Allied Foreign Ministers, in session in Paris, agreed upon the complete revision of the Sevres Treaty in favor of the Turks, of which they published a paraphrase in the form of a memorandum. The proposal referring to Armenia reads as follows:

> "The situation of the Armenians has received special consideration, as much on account of the obligation contracted by the Allied Powers during the war as on account of the cruel suffering endured by that people. Consequently the aid of the League of Nations is sought, in addition to the provisions made for the protection of minorities, with a view to satisfying the traditional aspirations of the Armenian people and the establishment of a national home for them."

Armenia and the League of Nations

In September, 1920, the Kemalists, in conspiracy with Moscow, attacked the Armenian Republic, which they overthrew in December. The League of Nations adopted three Resolutions in favor of Armenia.

> 1. (Sept., 1920) "The Assembly invites the Council to take into immediate consideration the situation in Armenia, and to submit to the examination of the Assembly proposals to meet the danger which actually threatens the life of the Armenian race, and to establish a stable and permanent state of things in that country."

On November 22, 1920, the Assembly, after having heard Lord Robert Cecil, Balfour, Viviani, Branting, Spalaikovitch Jonnesco, Doherty, Hanotaux, Motta and Nansen, unanimously adopted the following Resolution:

> 2. "The Assembly, desirous of collaborating with the Council to put an end, within the shortest possible time, to the horrible Armenian tragedy, invites the Council to effect an understanding with the Governments to the end that one Power be charged with the task of taking necessary measures to bring to a termination the hostilities between Armenia and the Kemalists, and, further, charge a Commission of six members to examine the measures, if any, to be taken to put an end to the hostilities between Armenia and the Kemalists, and report to the present Assembly."

At the recommendation of the Council, the League of Nations invited all the member Governments and the Government of the United States to mediate between Armenia and the Kemalists. President Wilson and the Governments of Spain and Brazil accepted the invitation, but, owing to the hostile attitude of the Kemalists no success was achieved.

3. On September 21, 1921, the General Assembly of the League of Nations adopted unanimously the following Resolution:

> *Whereas* the first Assembly, on November 18, 1920, entrusted to the Council the task of safeguarding the future of Armenia; and
>
> *Whereas* the Council, on 25 February, 1921, realizing the impossibility of taking any affirmative action to meet the situation in Asia Minor, requested the Secretariat to follow the course of events in Armenia, so as to enable the Council to take ultimately new decisions; and
>
> *Whereas* in the meantime, the Supreme Council (Allied) in view of the probable revision of the Sevres Treaty, has proposed the creation of a National Home for the Armenians; and
>
> *Whereas* there exists an imminent probability of a Treaty of peace being made between the Allied Powers and Turkey; Therefore be it
>
> **Resolved,** That the Assembly invites the Council, at once, to press upon the Supreme Council (Allied) the necessity of making provisions in the Treaty, safeguarding the future of Armenia, and, further, insuring for the Armenians a National Home, wholly independent of Turkish rule." [1]

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[1] The proposal of a National Home was carried to Europe by a few well-meaning Americans, who regarded the scheme as an interpretation of American sentiment. It is hard to see the difference between an independent Armenian State, as contemplated by the Sevres Treaty, and a National Home that is entirely free from Turkish rule or suzerainty. The conception was unfortunate because it created considerable misunderstanding and confusion.—Ed.

Mineral Resources of Armenia[1]

		Armenian Republic	Wilson Armenia
		Number of resource localities	
1.	Oil	39	30
2.	Gold	16	14
3.	Silver and lead	36	13
4.	Copper	194	13
5.	Platinum	..	1
6.	Zinc	9	3
7.	Tin	..	1
8.	Molybdene	3	..
9.	Antimony	1	..
10.	Cobalt	5	..
11.	Manganese	9	3
12.	Iron	49	14
13.	Chrome	2	..
14.	Arsenic	8	4
15.	Sulphur	9	10
16.	Pyrite of iron	23	8
17.	Jet	1	..
18.	Turf	8	16
19.	Combustible shist	3	..
20.	Naphtha	2	14
21.	Mineral wax	1	..
22.	Bitumin	..	1

[1] The oil deposit in Wilson Armenia,—in a belt 220 miles long—is an extension of the Baku oil, and is believed to be as extensive as the Mosul oil, and more valuable because of its greater proximity to the seas.

Climate.—Armenia has a healthy and vigorous climate. In winter, except along the coast, the thermometer registers from 10 to 25 below zero and the snow falls almost steadily; in summer, in the greater area, the temperature approaches that of Southern California.

Soil.—Rich, except that large areas require reclamation and irrigation.

Agriculture.—About 85% of the people tillers of the soil—primitive,—and do not produce enough for their needs. The three valleys of Wilson Armenia alone—Bassene, Alashguerd and Musch—Can produce 2,000,000 tons of foodstuffs.

		Armenian Republic	Wilson Armenia
23.	Mineral salt	33	10
24.	Salt spring	5	28
25.	Salt lakes	2	..
26.	Carbonate of soda	1	1
27.	Glauber salt	2	..
28.	Borax	1	..
29.	Nitre	1	..
30.	Alum	11	2
31.	Asbestos	1	1
32.	Kieselguhr	..	1
33.	Graphite	8	..
		483	188
		Total	671

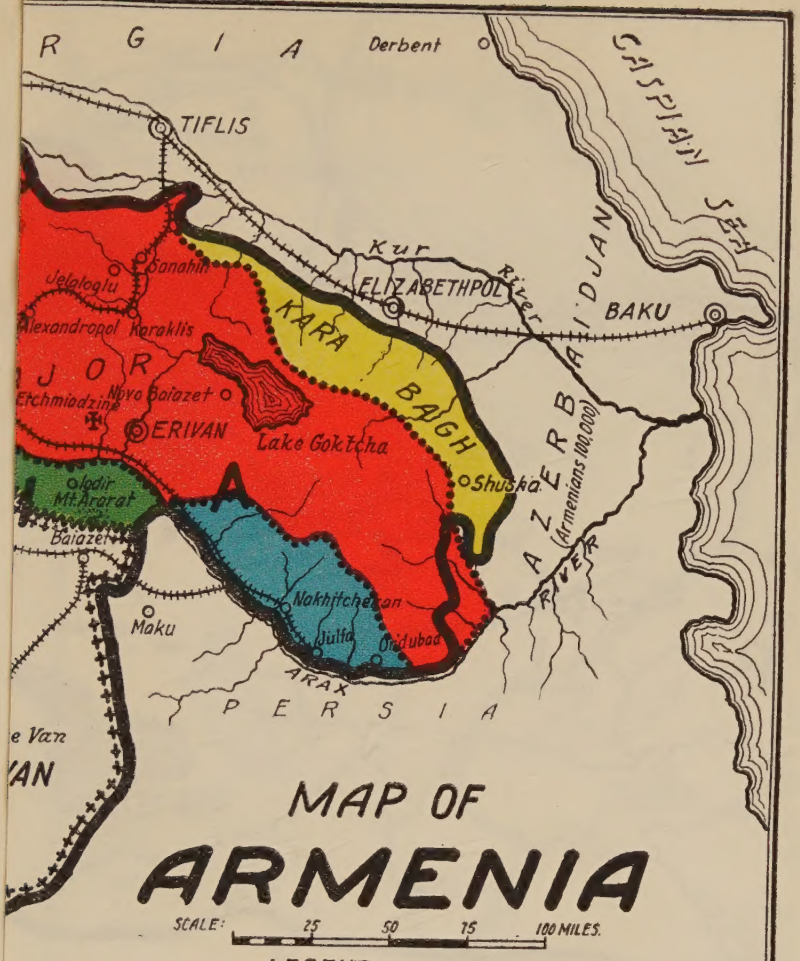
Railways.—384 miles long.

Water Power.—Arax, Kur, Euphrates and Tigris have their sources within Armenia. Lake Van has an area of 1,800 square miles, and Lake Sevan, an area of 825.

Within the Armenian Republic alone there are 15 rivers—aggregate length, 4,250 miles, and 2,398,000 H. P.

Physical Condition.—Poor and primitive. The Turks have been there.

Armenia can not only become self-supporting, but, like America, self-sufficient. She has iron, coal, cotton, wool and the capacity to produce several times the amount of foodstuffs she requires.—Ed.



LEGEND

MENIA, - claimed by Delegation Integral Armenia, in a Memorandum to Peace Conference, Feb. 1919.

SON ARMENIA, - Defined by Pres. Wilson, at invitation Allied Sup. Council, San Remo, April 25, 1920, in Provinces Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis. Area, 40,000 Sq.M. Pre-War Pop., 800,000; present, 200,000, of which 65,000 Turk; Armenian refugees from same area, over 300,000

-WAR BOUNDARY between Turkish and Russian Armenia.

MENIAN REPUBLIC (formerly Russian Armenia) declared independence, May 28, 1918, then econized by Germany, Russia, and Turkey, and, in 1920, by America and Allies. Area, 26, 91 Sq.M. Pop.-2,159,000; Russ. element, 3%. In Sept. 1920, Kemal, in conspiracy with Moscow, ttacked it. Ligitimate government withdrew on Dec. 2. By Treaties, dated March 16, and Oct. 13, 921 between Moscow and Turkey, divided into following four parts.

ET REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA, - a member of Russian Confederation, with option to withdraw. Structure of gov. Armenian. No foreign relations. Area, 15,127 Sq.M. Pop.-1,200,000.

ED to Turkey.

AUTONOMOUS DISTRICT - under suzerainty of Azerbaidjan.

AUTONOMOUS DISTRICT - under suzerainty of Azerbaidjan. Majority pop. Armenian, umbering, 340,000.

nian refugees, and those surviving in Turkey, 800,000. Refugees and others who will o to Armenia, over 1,500,000. Armenians in the world, 3,069,000. Area of Armenian Republic and Wilson Armenia, 66,000 Sq.M. KEMALIST TURKEY, - Area 320,000 Sq.M. Pop. 000,000, of which 4,000,000 Turkish.

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